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TELEGRAM

Foreign Service of the United States of America

INCOMING AMERICAN EMBASSY BONN

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SECRET

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Reviewed by: Jan Breyer
Date: 17 Mar 1982

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FROM: GENEVA

NUMBER: 52, AUGUST 4, 2 PM

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TYLER SENT DEPT CAHTO 204 RPTD INFO BONN 52

EYES ONLY AMBASSADOR

HEREWITH (1) OUR TRANSLATION OF LETTER FROM ADENAUER TO SECRETARY DELIVERED BY VON BRENTANO JULY 31, AND (2) SECRETARY'S REPLY TO ADENAUER HANDED VON BRENTANO AUG 3:

1. BEGIN TEXT
DEAR MR. HERTER: FEDERAL MINISTER LEMMER HAS OFFICIALLY REPORTED TO ME THE CONVERSATION WHICH YOU HAD WITH HIM IN THE PRESENCE OF MAYOR AMRehn DURING YOUR VISIT TO BERLIN. FROM HIS DESCRIPTION OF THIS CONVERSATION I AM FORCED TO ASSUME THAT YOU ARE NOT RPT NOT CORRECTLY INFORMED ABOUT MY POSITION ON THE QUESTION OF REUNIFICATION. TO MAKE THIS POSITION CLEAR I AM ACCORDINGLY MAKING THE FOOLOWING REMARKS.

IN THE SOVIET VIEW, AS HAS BECOME CLEAR RECENTLY IN THE STATEMENTS OF THE ALL- POWERFUL LEADER KHRUSHCHEV, ANY LIBERATION OF THE GERMANS IN THE SOVIET ZONE FROM SOVIET HEGEMONY IS AS LITTLE LIKELY AT THE PRESENT TIME THROUGH POLITICAL MEANS AS WELL LIBERATION OF THE POPULATION OF THE SATELLITE STATES FROM THE SAME REGIME. THE SOVIET UNION WOULD APPROVE THE REUNIFICATION OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC AND THE SOVIET ZONE IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE ONLY UNDER CONDITIONS WHICH WOULD INSURE THE DOMINANCE OF THE COMMUNISM IN WEST GERMANY. SUCH A REUNIFICATION I REFUSE; SINCE THROUGH IT THE SEVENTEEN MILLION GERMANS IN THE SOVIET ZONE WOULD NOT RPT NOT BE HELPED AND SINCE THE FIFTY MILLION GERMANS WHO HAVE BEEN FREE UP TO THE PRESENT WOULD BE ENSLAVED, MERELY TO COMPLY WITH A FORMALISTIC CONCEPTION OF REUNIFICATION. IT WOULD BE EVIDENCE OF LACK OF UNDERSTANDING OF THE CHARACTER

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OF A TOTALITARIAN REGIME IF ONE WERE TO SUPPOSE THAT, THROUGH LINKING A COMMUNISTIC WITH A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM IN A SINGLE STATE, A MERE EQUILIBRIUM OF FORCES COULD BE ACHIEVED. EVEN UNDER BETTER CONDITIONS, TO NAME JUST A FEW EXAMPLES, THE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEMS IN THE BALTIC STATES OR IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, COULD NOT RPT NOT ENDURE, ALTHOUGH THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE POPULATIONS WAS NOT RPT NOT COMMUNIST. I MUST THEREFORE MAINTAIN MY RESERVE AGAINST ALL PROPOSALS WHICH IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE REUNIFICATION WOULD ENDANGER FREEDOM. I THEREFORE ALSOREJECT THE "GERMAN PLAN" OF THE SPD AND SIMILAR PROPOSALS. ONLY WHEN THE FREE WEST THROUGH ITS POLICIES HAS ACHIEVED A CONDITION UNDER WHICH THE SOVIET UNION NO RPT NO LONGER REGARDS THE SOVIET ZONE OF GERMANY AS AN IMPORTANT STRONG-POINT IN THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE EAST AND THE WEST AND THEREFORE ABANDONS THE MAINTENANCE OF THE COMMUNIST SYSTEM IN THE SOVIET ZONE, WILL REUNIFICATION AND FREEDOM BECOME A POLITICAL POSSIBILITY. UNDER SUCH CONDITIONS, IN MY VIEW, REUNIFICATION MUST BE ACHIEVED AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE WITHOUT REGARD TO THE INTERNAL POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES WHICH WOULD RESULT OR TO THE ECONOMIC SACRIFICES WHICH MIGHT BE INVOLVED FOR THE POPULATION OF THE PRESENT FEDERAL REPUBLIC.

YOU TOLD ME WHEN TAKING OVER YOUR OFFICE THAT YOU WOULD LIKE TO HAVE DEVELOP BETWEEN YOU AND ME THE SAME OFFICIAL AND FRIENDLY RELATIONSHIPS THAT EXISTED BETWEEN JOHN FOSTER DULLES AND ME. THIS IS ALSO MY WISH. THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN MR. DULLES AND MYSELF RESTED UPON FULLEST MUTUAL FRANKNESS AND TRUTHFULNESS. I BELIEVE THAT MY FRANK EXPLANATION SHOULD DISPEL ANY LACK OF CLARITY ABOUT MY POSITION AND SHOULD SERVE TO DEEPEN OUR RELATIONSHIP. WITH THIS MOTIVE IN MIND I SEND YOU THE PRESENT LETTER. SIGNED ADENAUER.
END TEXT
2. BEGIN TEXT
AUGUST 3, 1959

DEAR DR. ADENAUER: I APPRECIATED RECEIVING YOUR FRANK EXPRESSION OF VIEWS ON THE QUESTION OF GERMAN REUNIFICATION.

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AS YOU INDICATED, SUCH FRANKNESS IS A NECESSARY INGREDIENT OF THE KIND OF RELATIONSHIP OF MUTUAL TRUST AND FRIENDSHIP WHICH, I KNOW, WE BOTH WISH TO HAVE DEVELOP BETWEEN US. THIS IS SOMETHING WHICH I NOT RPT NOT ONLY PERSONALLY DESIRE, BUT WHICH I BELIEVE TO BE ESSENTIAL TO THE FULLEST HARMONIZATION OF THE POLICIES OF OUR GOVERNMENTS.

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO DISAGREE WITH YOUR REALISTIC VIEW THAT THE SOVIETS WILL NOT RPT NOT PERMIT THE REUNIFICATION OF GERMANY, EXCEPT ON TERMS IMPLYING THE COMMUNIZATION OF THE ENTIRE COUNTRY, UNTIL A POSSIBLE POINT HAS BEEN REACHED WHERE THEY ARE WILLING TO CONSIDER ABANDONING THE COMMUNIST SYSTEM IN THE SOVIET ZONE BECAUSE THEY NO RPT NO LONGER REGARD THIS AREA AS SIGNIFICANT IN THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE EAST AND THE WEST. THIS HAS BEEN AMPLY EVIDENCED BY THE POSITION TAKEN BY MR. GROMYKO ON REUNIFICATION DURING THE COURSE OF THE CURRENT GENEVA ONFERENCE. I NEED NOT RPT NOT TELL YOU, HOWEVER, THAT CONSTANT PRESSURE FROM THE WEST IN ADVOCACY OF REUNIFICATION IS REQUIRED TO KEEP BEFORE THE EYES OF THE WORLD AND THE GERMAN PEOPLE THE HARSH REALITY OF SOVIET OBDURACY WHICH LIES AT THE BOTTOM OF THE CONTINUED DIVIDION OF THE COUNTRY.

I REGRET VERY MUCH IF MY LUNCHEON REMARKS TO FEDERAL MINISTER BEMER GAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT I WAS NOT RPT NOT FULLY AWARE OF THE BASIC AGREEMENT IN OUR THINKING IN THIS MATTER. YOU WILL UNDOUBTEDLY HAVE RECEIVED FROM FOREIGN MINISTER VON BRENTANO FULL REPORTS OF THE POSITION CONSISTENTLY TAKEN BY THE WESTERN POWERS AT GENEVA IN REJECTING THE SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR AN ALL-GERMAN COMMITTEE. THROUGH THE INSTRUMENTALITY OF SUCH A BODY, THE SOVIETS PRESUMABLY WOULD HOPE TO MOVE TOWARDS THEIR DUAL OBJECTIVES OF ENHANCING THE STATUS OF THE SO-CALLED GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC AND MAXIMIZING THE INFLUENCE OF COMMUNISM THROUGHOUT THE FEDERAL RELUBLIC WITHOUT CONTRIBUTING IN THE SLIGHTEST TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THAT REUNIFICATION IN FREEDOM WHICH CAN BE THE ONLY KIND OF REUNIFICATION ACCEPTABLE TO THE WEST.

WITH WARMEST PERSONAL REGARDS,

MOST SINCERELY,
CHRISTIAN A. HERTER

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The Adenauer communications are interesting as showing how acutely sensitive he is to the minutiae of conversation. By the time whatever Herter may have said to Lemmer [redacted] filtered through to the Chancellor, I imagine the original remarks [redacted] suffered considerable distortion.

The German press continues to reflect skepticism over the prospective Eisenhower-Khrushchev meetings. The Chancellor yesterday said he had been informed by the Italians and Belgians that they were unhappy about the invitation to K to visit the United States. The Italians observed that they could not be expected to combat communist propaganda if their people see, in almost every movie theatre in their country in September, displays of E and K on apparently friendly terms. He said the Scandinavians' reaction was also adverse, and the whole situation is [redacted] confusing. This last statement is certainly correct if one were to judge from the foreign press.

In the last few days, Etzel has been expressing publicly some interesting views on European integration. Adenauer's stand in this respect has been consistent. He gives priority to a relentlessly hard fight against communism and believes it can best be won by full integration of the Federal Republic into the West. He insists on a tight association of Germany in a political grouping as large a

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possible, but based on France and, if necessary, limited to the Community of Six. He does not ascribe importance to independent strength for Germany.

I spent a couple of hours this afternoon working on a telegram in connection with the President's visit here. Tyler [redacted] made a draft earlier in the day, and we propose to agree upon a composite message tomorrow. Bill and Findley Burns came to tea with us.

Monday, August 10, 1959

Bill Tyler and I went over our telegram this morning and sent it to Washington (see pages 70-75).

Mrs. Walter Koehn came to see me this afternoon with a letter of introduction from Elmo Roper.

Did some work with Walter Radius on Berlin airlift planning. It presents difficult problems.

I went to the Ecuadoran National Day reception this evening at the Redoute. Had a chat with the Papal Nuncio who, like many members of his church, does not like the idea of an Eisenhower-Khrushchev meeting. He believes Khrushchev is a criminal and scoundrel and nothing good can come of his seeing Eisenhower.

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Foreign Service of the United States of America

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American Embassy Bonn

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Date: AUGUST 10, 1:00PM

SENT TO:	SecState WASHINGTON	ROUTINE	294
RPTD INFO:	AmEmbassy MOSCOW	ROUTINE	27
	AmEmbassy LONDON	ROUTINE	69
	AmEmbassy PARIS	ROUTINE	83
	AmEmbassy ROME	ROUTINE	17
	AmEmbassy VIENNA	ROUTINE	03

PARIS PASS THURSTON AND FINN, AND USUN.

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Chancellor showed great pleasure and relief when informed President prepared visit Bonn. I think it well to assess situation in which he now finds himself compared with even few months ago.

Internally, his leadership, though still dominant, has suffered from recent performance on issue Presidency. German people have not brushed off his vacillations as quickly or completely as he had hoped and expected. Very fact he exploded bombshell on eve of slack Summer political season caused unusual echoes of confusion and criticism to reverberate, without any available issue of domestic significance giving opportunity to divert public attention and reassert his influence. Am not suggesting Adenauer's political star will further decline but certainly is not presently at zenith.

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Externally, his prestige has undoubtedly suffered. The Soviets were ready and did capitalize on this. Moreover, the state of Anglo-German relations, already unsatisfactory, was further exacerbated by derogatory glee expressed in British publications over the Chancellor's daisy-plucking Presidential antics. His frequent and indiscreet references to British "softness" in dealing with Soviets, his conviction that their tactics reflected appeasement spirit, fear lest Macmillan had made secret concessions in Moscow, and other suspicions, coupled with reports of how he was regarded in certain English circles as a tiresome, stubborn, arrogant and unrealistic old fogy, overcame his usual sense of caution and his innate politeness. He does not understand British mentality and character, although genuinely admiring the race and in particular, Winston Churchill. Per contra, if the British are in an appeasing mood it certainly does not extend to their transactions with Adenauer, nor have their negotiations with him been distinguished by grace or tact. Especially since the Heuss visit, the Germans, so desirous of being liked, have realized that the British have long memories, and ineradicable pride and prejudice.

It is, therefore, with heightened alarm and resentment that Adenauer has lately viewed what he thinks is British effort to influence United

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States Government to establish a new and dangerously naive Anglo-Saxon policy regarding SovUnion. Normally, he would have turned to de Gaulle for comfort and understanding. But now such support has partially failed him, for the General has made it quite apparent that the Franco-German entente is all very well, but on some matters France's position is unique. Perhaps, Adenauer sorrowfully feels that often there is one who loves and another who lets himself be loved.

As consequences of such preoccupations and misgivings, although as devoted as ever to the cause of European integration, he may yearn more than ever for American good-will and sympathy, but feel less certain than in past few years of its being extended to him.

President's visit will afford valuable chance to soothe Chancellor's apprehensions. I would recommend for consideration, instead of any formal agenda items, the President's approach in talks with Adenauer should be reassuring on broad aspects of Western unity, and that he reassert support for basic policies we have hitherto followed, and with which Chancellor personally identifies himself. I do not think there are specific outstanding issues between US and Germany needing attention in relatively short time prescribed for conversations. The old gentleman likes to talk and will not be backward in presentation, including his views on Chinese population

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growth and the Siberian dust-bowl.

The better the atmosphere of cordiality and mutual understanding on fundamental aspects of East-West relations, the greater the benefits will be, not only with regard to Adenauer's own attitude, but also in exposing and refuting Soviet campaign directed against him personally and against FedRep as member Western Alliance.

We must bear in mind that one of Moscow's principal aims continues to be to drive wedge between Adenauer and his Allies, particularly ourselves. The mode of this political offensive is directly related to Communist propaganda line hailing the forthcoming visits as dawn of new era in East-West relations, and as golden opportunity for mankind (chiefly due to unremitting efforts of SovUnion) to end Cold War. Soviet propaganda, of course, is also emphasizing that extent of dedication to cause of peace of individual governments and statesmen is revealed by degree to which they rejoice over implications of visits as defined by Moscow. Any doubts or lack of enthusiasm are exploited by Moscow as clear evidence of opposition to cause of peace, and thus of desire to perpetuate Cold War in order fulfill aggressive aims. SovUnion is obviously trying to pin onto Adenauer label of frustrated and embittered supporter of continued East-West Tension and revanchist policies.

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For months there have been rumblings and grumblings in Germany, and much criticism abroad, of Adenauer and the obduracy of his political conduct. However, I do not personally know of a single major incident having occurred for years, where, after he has freely expressed his own opinion, he has not aligned his political action to conform to that decided upon b y the United States Government. Age has not blunted his combativeness, and neither has it lessened his conviction that there are only two great powers in the World, the US and the USSR. He chose long ago partnership with the former, and although he may at times fear bankruptcy he will remain determined to assume his share of the liabilities. Speculations about his senility are, in my opinion, baseless, nor do I find him more difficult to deal with now than in the past.

I think it likely he feels the course of events of recent months has brought about an impairment of his prestige and position in councils of the West. I do not believe he feels this goes as far as disavowal of his policies, but he may fear we consider him not sufficiently aware of new opportunities to be explored. Therefore, it would seem important that President's visit Bonn serve to remove doubts Adenauer may entertain on this score, and make clear to world opinion (especially Kremlin) that efforts

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to brand Adenauer as aggressor and isolate him from his Allies have failed and will fail.

Adenauer will certainly want to discuss Khrushchev's visit to the United States in context of possibility serious examination possibility new disarmament negotiations, matter which is dear to his heart. He will also look for assurance that United States remains firmly committed to NATO and that conversations between the President and Khrushchev will not lead to any alteration in basic US attitude to general problem of Western security. In Adenauer's mind ghost of "Radford Plan" episode in 1956 has never been fully exorcised. He will certainly appreciate utmost frankness from President, and I am sure he will in any case be greatly encouraged by mere fact that President has been willing to give him opportunity express his views in private conversation.

BRUCE

AUTH: Ambassador Bruce

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E and the three children left this evening for Paris for several days. Sasha has been conscientiously preparing for the trip by reading articles on France in the Encyclopedia Brittanica. The boys have continued to confine their researches to baseball comics.

Tuesday, August 11, 1959

Received word this morning of the arrival here on Thursday of Jim Hagerty and a posse of security and other emissaries. They will spend the day in preparations for the President's visit. I have designated Henry Tasca control officer for it.

The Indian Ambassador Tyabji called on me, and we had an interesting conversation. He is a Muslim but, after the separation of India-Pakistan, chose India. He has an uncle, a retired judge, living in Karachi and a first cousin in the Pakistan Embassy at Brussels. He is enthusiastic over the decision for Eisenhower and Khrushchev to meet.

The new Pakistan Ambassador Ziaud-Din came to see me. He is a genial old-timer in the diplomatic field.

Frederick Kuh of the Chicago Sun Times lunched with Bill Stearman and myself.

This afternoon I saw the new Ambassador from Ghana, Theodore Asare. He was a lawyer in New York for many years and, in fact, became an American citizen, as did his wife. She still retains her

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American nationality. We have made him a member of the Embassy Club and will try to assist him in his administrative troubles. They are great. This new country has not enough trained personnel to staff its civil service Moreover, in Bonn it has neither Embassy residence nor chancery. Asare is living at the Dreesen Hotel and also conducts his business there.

Gaston Coblentz met me at the house this evening for a long talk. He is still in pursuit of information bearing on Dulles's public career. He has had one satisfactory talk with the Chancellor on the subject and has been promised another appointment for September.

Wednesday, August 12, 1959

De Myers and I went to Villa Hammerschmidt at 10:30 this morning for a meeting of the Lincoln Essay Contest Jury. The panel consisted of President Heuss, Professor Dr. Helmut Kuehn (President of the Organization for American Studies, Munich), Myers and myself. The prizes for this competition, given by USIA, consist of an award to the winner of a trip to Springfield, Illinois, to the runner-up a trip to Berlin, and to the third best essayist some books. The theme was "The Significance of Abraham Lincoln Today". Something like 1500 papers were submitted by the German high school students, who were the only ones allowed to compete. This number was finally reduced to the best 10, and we agreed to award the prizes

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as follows: (1) to Christa Reinecke of Hannover; (2) to Markus Kreis of Offenbach; (3) Stefanie Mees of St. Wendel. I do not believe any of these papers will have enduring literary value, but they are creditable performances for young people writing about a foreign personality.

One of the German professors spoke in Heuss's presence of the similarity between Lincoln, Bismarck and Cavour in their efforts to achieve national unification for their countries. Heuss replied with an attack on Bismarck, for whom evidently he entertains no admiration. We concluded the meeting with champagne.

I left directly from there for the Wahn Airport where I met Frankie and Herb Thatcher, who [redacted] kindly took me down to Wiesbaden on their plane. The ceremonies at the Wiesbaden Airport, celebrating the turn-over of command from General Everest to General Smith, were impressive.

I had a chance to talk to Randy Burgess, who came [redacted] up this morning with Helen from Baden-Baden, about his desire to have the President address the Permanent Representatives of NATO in Paris, or at least be present at one of their meetings.

There were about 15,000 people watching the turn-over. The troops marched well, [redacted] the band played lustily in the brilliant sunshine. Afterwards a formation of jet fighters flew overhead in varying

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formations, doing diamond and other rolls. It was a thrilling spectacle, for at times their wing tips were said to have been not more than three feet apart. How they avoid accidents, especially when flying upside down in close proximity, is beyond my understanding.

Later there was a huge reception at the Hotel General von Steuben.

I came back by train and met Timothy Mellon, [redacted] Cathy and John Warner, who are spending the night at the house. Tim has been living in Munich for two months, studying German before going to Milton School. The Warners are making a four-week tour of the continent. We dined together and I had a long and delightful conversation with them afterwards.

Thursday, August 13, 1959

Jim Hagerty and Tom Stephens of the White House flew in this morning to Wahn on one of the new presidential jets. They landed without any difficulty. This removed our worries over whether or not this field would take the impact of such a heavy new craft.

Henry Tasca is control officer for the President's visit here. I went over with Messrs. Hagerty, Stephens and Tasca the many details awaiting resolution in connection with the visit. Afterwards other members of the Hagerty party, including communications,

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Secret Service and security experts, congregated with some of our own people in the conference room.

Lunched with Ed Morgan at the Embassy Club. It is always stimulating and pleasant to be with him.

At 3:15 I gave a little party for Hagerty at the house, with the following guests:

Tom Stephens	President's Appointments Secretary
Morrie Helitzer	McGraw-Hill Publications
Mr. Hirsch	AFN
Herbert Altschull	Associated Press
Russ Braley	NY Daily News
Gaston Coblentz	New York Herald Tribune
Arthur Olsen	New York Times
Ernest Leiser	CBS
Wellington Long	UPI
Jesse Lukomski	Business International
Dave Nichol	Chicago Daily News
Fred Klein	Time-Life
Emlyn Williams	Christian Science Monitor
Ed Faltermayer	Wall Street Journal
Ed Morgan	American Broadcasting Co.
Graf von Finckenstein	Die Welt
Joachim Schwelien	Frankfurter Allgeineine Zeitung
Dieter Schroeder	Sueddeutsche Zeitung
Klaus Baur	Deutsche Presse Agentur
Dieter Schwarzkopf	Der Tagesspiegel
Hilde Purwin	Neue Ruhr/Rhein Zeitung
Dr. Max Nitzsche	Rheinische Post
Henry Tasca	
Arch K. Jean	
Nedville Nordness	
Major Howard G. Stevenson	
Mr. William L. Stearman	

Hagerty outlined the purpose of his present tour of the three capitals. He took off in his plane about 5 o'clock, leaving some of

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his men behind for further consideration of our plans.

I stopped at Kit Steel's this evening, and we discussed the Eisenhower visit.

Friday, August 14, 1959

Colonel Dick Walters, the famous interpreter, was here yesterday with the presidential advance party. I had not seen him for a long time and was delighted to have a talk with him. He told me in detail about Vice President Nixon's trip to Caracas. Dick was on a jump seat in the back of the car. The Nixons and the Venezuelan Foreign Minister were on the main seat. As they were proceeding up a street leading toward the San Martine statue where the Vice President was to lay a wreath, they found the road obstructed by two empty cars parked across it. A crowd of people emerged from the bushes, brandishing baseball bats and iron crowbars. Their motorcycle escort disappeared. The assailants started beating on the top of the car, [redacted] then addressed themselves to the windows, in an attempt to break through them and release the inside catches so they could open the doors. Walters was cut by flying glass, and the Foreign Minister got fragments of glass in his eyes. I gather he did not behave during this occurrence with aplomb. The Nixons on the contrary were perfectly calm. The crowd was yelling and screaming "Death to Nixon", and literally drenched the occupants of the automobile with spit. Dick felt that if they had wrenched the

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doors open they probably would have given Nixon a terrible beating and might even have killed him. Fortunately, the parked cars were removed by an agency unknown, the motorcycle escort returned, and they were able to drive off.

As they went up the incline to approach the statue which was still at a considerable distance, Walters saw large numbers of people, unpoliced, lining both sides of the street. Knowing Caracas well, he told the Vice President he would not allow him to proceed any further and that if they took a nearby turn, they could go through a residential district to the American Embassy. After some demur, the Vice President consented and they arrived safely at their destination. As things turned out, it was well they had not proceeded to the statue, for some 200 Molotov cocktails were later seized there and Walters thinks there was an organized plot to kill Nixon at that point. He said that on this and a later occasion at Lima, the Vice President [redacted] behaved with the utmost courage and good sense.

Henry Fowler, General Counsel of the National Coal Policy Conference, came to see me, Messrs. Ockey and Hilton this morning. He outlined a proposed plan by his organization to establish representatives in Europe, and we had a long talk about the exportation of U. S. bituminous coal. In 1957 the total value of such U. S. exports was over 750 million dollars, about half of it directed to Western Europe. Canada

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remains the largest single customer.

Herr Schwelien of the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung came to see me with Bill Stearman for a background talk. Afterwards Mr. Canham of the Christian Science Monitor called on me with Ned Nordness. He is on his [redacted] to Russia. He always appears extraordinarily well informed and is wonderful company.

E and the children arrived back this morning with Priscilla Jaretzki from Paris. They seem to have had a marvelous time. The kids sat up late every night and drank uncontrolled amounts of Coca Cola. They look exhausted, but Sasha has gone back to school just the same.

Herb Altschull came to see me this afternoon, and afterwards I talked with Dick E'dridge before going on to return calls to UAR Ambassador Sabri and Chilean Ambassador Naschke.

Jean Monnet [redacted] telephoned me yesterday from Switzerland telling me his former confidential secretary, Madame Migues, would be here this morning bringing letters from him. She appeared, and gave me copies of them, one addressed to President Eisenhower, [redacted] the other to Chancellor Adenauer, reading as follows: (pages 84-88).

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Personnelle

Le 13 août 1959.

Cher Monsieur le Chancelier

Depuis notre dernière conversation bien des événements sont arrivés dans le monde. Je suis extrêmement heureux de la visite du Président Eisenhower à Bonn. Elle me semble résoudre beaucoup des problèmes dont nous avons parlés.

Au point où nous en sommes avec les affaires russes l'unité européenne s'affirme encore plus urgente qu'auparavant. Elle est nécessaire en soi pour les raisons générales que vous avez souvent exposées et pour rapprocher définitivement la France et l'Allemagne.

Elle doit être complétée par une association avec l'Amérique ainsi que nous le disions dans notre dernière conversation; et le moment est venu où cette association devient possible; les progrès déjà faits dans l'Union de l'Europe, les progrès des pays européens eux-mêmes font que les Etats-Unis et l'Europe ne sont plus des mondes différents qu'ils étaient lors du temps de la faiblesse de l'Europe. Aujourd'hui nos problèmes sont communs; certains d'entre eux, comme la question des pays sous-développés, ne peuvent être traités qu'en association entre les Etats-Unis et l'Europe. Cette association ne peut se faire entre l'Amérique et les nations européennes séparées qui ne sont aucune d'entre elles à l'échelle des Etats-Unis ou de la Russie.

Si l'Europe ne faisait pas maintenant la démonstration de son unité nous risquerions de voir la dissociation de l'Occident. Une telle tragédie peut être facilement évitée car, comme je vous l'ai dit au cours de nos récentes conversations, les rapports que j'ai déjà [illegible] avec le Président Eisenhower m'ont [illegible] personnellement persuadé qu'il est aussi convaincu et enthousiaste

2.

que vous et moi de la nécessité vitale de réaliser l'unité de l'Europe.

Je pense qu'il est très important dans les conversations qui vont avoir lieu que les principes d'une "partnership" entre l'Amérique et d'une Europe politiquement unie soient posés et rendus publics. Une telle association avec l'Amérique faciliterait également la résolution du problème anglais. Tant que l'Angleterre ne veut pas participer à l'Europe unie l'Europe ne devrait pas la traiter différement de l'Amérique. Il s'agirait envers l'un et l'autre d'une étroite collaboration mais pas d'une participation.

Je pense que si les conversations avec le Président Eisenhower pouvaient se dérouler sur ces bases, nous serions alors dans une meilleure position pour faire, à l'automne, les propositions permettant d'intensifier l'unité de l'Europe, propositions qui deviennent non seulement vitales mais dans les circonstances actuelles urgentes.

[avec]

Croyez vous à mes respectueuses amitiés.

Jm

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Personal

14 August 1959

Dear Mr. President

I wish to avail myself of the privilege of writing you direct. You may remember that on one of my recent visits you did ask me to do so.

Having taken the initiative of talking to Mr. Krushchev on the great questions at issue in the world, you have raised our hopes and among others I am very grateful to you.

You may accomplish a lasting understanding with Mr. Kurshchev. At the least precious time will be gained. It is the time that will give us the great opportunity to establish firmly the basis of peace. Whatever the questions of world policy discussed, disarmament, atomic controls, etc, a lasting solution cannot be brought to them without the creation of a United Europe.
It is on this point that I wish to take the liberty of expressing freely my views to you.

I - Conversations with the Russians will be all the more fruitful if the Russians and all the countries of the West know right from the start what the objectives are as far as Europe is concerned. I suggest that those objectives should be:

i) the unity of Europe, which alone will permit the European countries, particularly France and Germany, to transcend the separate national problems that now weigh them down.

ii) a partnership between the United States and a United Europe.

These objectives would be the basis on which it would be possible to build up a long term understanding between Russia and the West that might one day become an association.

2.

As for Britain, since she does not wish for the moment to join a United Europe, Europe ought to deal with both America and her on the same footing of close cooperation.

XI - I remember that you often said to me while you were in Paris that if Europe gets united there will be no war, but that if Europe does not, then the future is uncertain.

European unity is particularly important as regards the future of Germany and France whose association must form the basis of any possible United Europe. With France the solution of the questions that are pending between yourself and Général de Gaulle can be facilitated by the European approach which provides an opportunity for new solutions. As far as Germany is concerned, any solution that would tend to create for her a special status instead of integrating her with the other countries of the West would result in the creation of discriminations. Even if these discriminations appeared to be peaceful ones they would begin a trend of dissociation of Germany from the West which in time might tempt a German government towards the East to the detriment of the German people itself. That would be fatal for the free world.

If, on the other hand, Europe is united, even on the present basis of a divided Germany, then the existence of a dynamic Europe will represent a tremendous magnet. The U.S.S.R. will adapt itself to facts, one of which will be that Europe will exercise a great attraction for Eastern Germany.

XII - It is therefore essential that the trend towards European unity be reinforced. That requires partnership with America, for if Europeans imagine - as they will tend to imagine whatever one may say - that America and Russia may make their separate peace, then there is an acute danger that they will start making their own arrangements, separately, nationally, and with disastrous results.

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3.

Partnership between a United Europe and America is all the more important because we are at a turning point in world conditions. The recovery of Europe and its new strength mean that America and Europe are no longer different worlds as in the days of Europe's weakness, but face common problems: a fundamental one is to maintain rates of expansion in the whole free world and to surmount the balance of payments problems that restrict them. Further, the growing urgency of tackling the problems of the underdeveloped areas requires a combined effort of the developed countries; nothing less can master them. The ways in which these challenges can be met by our countries together will have to be worked out gradually and in response to the practical problems. But here and now the principle of partnership on a new footing between a uniting Europe and the United States should be clearly affirmed as an essential factor for peace.

V - I am convinced that if with your great authority you made it clear to the Western governments and, just as important to Mr. Khrushchev, that European unity and a partnership between the United States and a United Europe are essential conditions of a better peace the effect would be considerable. We could gradually build up from there a lasting understanding with Russia that would be based on the strength and unity of the West and on Russia's realization of it.

I wish you success and send you respectful compliments.

Yours sincerely

Jm

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Monnet and I talked about the letters later on the telephone and arranged to discuss them in detail next week. Meanwhile, they have been forwarded to their destinations. I told him I was somewhat puzzled as to what he meant by a partnership between a United Europe and America "on a new footing".

Saturday, August 15, 1959

I was occupied again last night with the multifarious details connected with a presidential visit. Henry Tasca, as control officer, has plunged into these deliberations with great zest and is invaluable. Acts of Congress prescribe the President's protection at home or abroad by our Treasury Department Secret Service. As a result, the Embassy Residence will be thoroughly cased by them. Also, he must have his own independent communications, so a switchboard, manned by White House operators, will be installed on our ground floor with an intercommunicating system extending even to the Palais Schaumburg.

Nothing has given as much trouble as cars. Hagerty and Stephens say the President cannot be restrained from standing up and waving to the crowds which always greet him. Hence, unless there is heavy rain, the necessity for a topless automobile. On his last trip to Paris, when it was bitter cold, in spite of the remonstrances of his son John and his doctor, he insisted on standing, exposed to rain, sleet and cold, in his bubble top car all the way to the Embassy.

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When he reached it he was so fagged, according to Hagerty, that they almost had to carry him into the house. Even if he is in a closed vehicle, he kneels on the floor in moments of excitement and puts his head out the window, the better to see and be seen.

Incongruously enough, in Germany, famous for its motor industry, there seem to be no ceremonial automobiles except hearses, and these are scarcely appropriate for such an occasion. The suggestion was made to fly over an open vehicle from the United States, but we all feel this would be resented here. We are canvassing the Army and Air Force for the loan of a suitable conveyance, but the best they have offered so far is an uncovered military semi-truck. The use of this would certainly be misconstrued. But it is our hosts who are most embarrassed, for it is their obligation to take care of such matters. Unfortunately, the vaunted Mercedes 300 is so constructed as to make a passenger on the back seat almost invisible. Even worse, it has no room behind for an interpreter, since jump seats are almost unknown in Germany. There must be a U. S. Secret Service man in front; in fact, our Washington friends were narrowly dissuaded from producing their own chauffeur.

Von Braun, Chief of Protocol, is visibly disturbed over this problem, but I expect it can be solved.

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At Versailles, E and the children visited La Lanterne. It has at last been put in order, and will soon be occupied by Prime Minister Debrè. Unhappily, the beautiful, curiously shaped red brick flooring on the second floor had to be condemned because of its weight, and has been replaced by a cheap wooden parquet. My statue of Diana remains in the little park and glistens with white paint.

Priscilla went this morning to meet Alfred Jaretzki, who came down from Hamburg by plane. Kit Steel stopped to see me before lunch, to say his Government would not wish the President to introduce the topic of Anglo-German difficulties during his discussions with Adenauer.

At the UAR Embassy yesterday, I was given a delicious sweet unalcoholic drink made of sirup of almonds. It was followed by Turkish coffee. The Chilean Ambassador takes a dim view of Fidel Castro, believing he will precipitate Cuba into an economic and financial morass. He had no news about the Conference at Santiago, beyond the newspaper reports featuring Herter's speech. He said the new copper mine brought into operation about ten days ago will have the lowest costs in the world, and should be profitable even with present low copper prices. Meanwhile, in the United States, most of our copper miners are on strike.

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Rose

Kay and Chappy and their son Jonathan dined with us. They are on a pleasure tour by automobile. I think Chappy still has a hankering after government work, although he is busily occupied with his law practice in Cleveland.

It was too cool today for swimming.

Sunday, August 16, 1959

Had a talk with Alfred Jaretzki about Foster, with whom he was [redacted] associated in Sullivan and Cromwell for several decades. Alfred considered him a brilliant lawyer and ascribed some of his brusqueness to his habit of intense concentration on whatever subject occupied his attention.

Again too cold for swimming. Nothing interesting at the office this weekend. I suppose the boys in Washington are resting up between European and South American trips.

Monday, August 17, 1959

I had a letter from Doug Dillon this morning regarding my personal plans, which I answered. (See pages 93 and 94).

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The Under Secretary of State

Washington

CONFIDENTIAL
EYES ONLY

August 11, 1959

Dear David:

When Chris got back here he told Bob Murphy and me of his talks with you and your willingness to stay on a little longer if it would help our situation here. We all agreed that it would be most helpful if you could postpone your departure until the first of November, or any date thereafter which suited your convenience.

As you know, Bob has not yet been confirmed and sworn in, and he would like to have at least a few weeks in his new position before leaving. Also, the planning for Khrushchev's visit and the President's travels is rather complex and Bob is riding herd on it, so it would be helpful to us if we could have him on tap until November.

Chris had only a very short time here before leaving for Santiago, and he therefore asked me to pass on our thoughts to you.

Phyllis joins me in sending our very best wishes to you and Vangie.

Sincerely,

Douglas Dillon

The Honorable
David K. E. Bruce,
American Ambassador,
Bonn.

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EYES ONLY

Bonn/Bad Godesberg, Germany
August 17, 1959

Dear Doug:

Thank you for your letter of August 11, 1959. Under the circumstances, I shall be glad to stay on until November 1, but would expect definitely to depart at that time. I hope this may be helpful in connection with my successor.

I have a problem in connection with the children returning in time to attend Washington schools and will communicate with Loy Henderson on the subject, but in any event I shall remain here myself.

With kindest regards to Phyllis and yourself, I am

Ever yours,

David Bruce

The Honorable
C. Douglas Dillon,
Under Secretary of State,
Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

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Dr. and Mrs. Overstreet came to see me this afternoon. They are an agreeable couple [redacted] Their last book on Communism had a great success. They are now making an extensive trip, and the Department of State has instructed all posts to give them every possible help in interviewing prominent people in the countries they will visit. They are particularly interested in the dynamism of democratic political principles and society, and are seeking for ways in which this can be influenced. They have just arrived here from France where they saw some of the leading intellectuals.

Joe Dasher came to see me to discuss his own situation in the light of General Everest's transfer. Having elected intelligence work and not being a flying officer, he thinks he has little chance of promotion during the four years which is the limit of his allowable service before retirement. He is an excellent officer, first class in intelligence work, with great facility in languages, especially the Slavic ones.

Bud Day, who has been on an assignment in Washington as well as home leave, returned this morning, and I consulted him as to how, in the light of my remaining on here until November, I can send the family and furniture home.

E and I went to the Indonesian National Day reception at the

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Redoute and then on to the van Scherpenbergs' new house in Venusberg. Northe was there for dinner, as well as a deputy from Schleswig-Holstein and his wife.

Just before leaving for the Redoute, Dillon telephoned me from Washington to say the President was thinking of revising the schedule of his visit to Bonn. He would arrive here about 1830 on the evening of August 26 and would go at once to the residence and get a good night's sleep. I told Scherpy about this. He telephoned at once to Cadenabbia, talked to the Chancellor, and found the latter greatly pleased over this proposition.

Tuesday, August 18, 1959

Tom Stephens came over this morning from London. We had a large meeting lasting several hours, to revise our previous schedule for the presidential visit in the light of the probable change in his plans. Bonn is going to creak at its seams to accommodate the 150 or more people attached to the presidential party. The details involved in preparation for this visit seem to be without end, including such items as what General Snyder will allow the President to eat or drink. Apparently his favorite brand of Scotch whiskey is Chivas Regal. Stephens tried to buy some in London and found it was unheard of there.

We will now have a daily meeting at nine o'clock each morning

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in the conference room to determine on arrangements for the visit. The procurement of an ope car has not yet been successful. The German Government is having an inspection made of the Daimler-Benz Museum at Stuttgart with the idea of resurrecting one of their old models. The only suitable one thus far discovered was Hitler's own automobile. We have turned it down on psychological grounds.

I have sent out scouts to find beef bacon. The President eats it for breakfast in lieu of hog bacon. His other culinary wants are few. For dinner he is accustomed to consomme, steak and salad. Stephens says if we really want to please him, we should sneak him some fried eggs for breakfast without General Snyder knowing it.

E, the children and I are to vacate the house since the bedrooms will be filled by members of the President's immediate staff. This involves one delicate question I have taken up with Tom. The President's valet is a sergeant, and I asked if there were any objection to his sharing a bathroom with General Snyder. Stephens replied he did not think General Snyder would object to this, but as far as he knew there was no precedent for it.

This afternoon more weighty matters were deliberated upon. Ivan White called me from the Department to say there would be a press release at noon announcing the change in Eisenhower's arrival

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time. Then Tom and I talked to Hagerty and John Eisenhower at the White House and tried to straighten out the press conference project. Hard on the heels of all this, Tasca and Jean arrived from a conference with von Braun who has more or less thrown in his hand on the open car proposition. It will now be referred to the Chancellor who, since he is subject to catching cold on exposure to swift-flowing air, is likely to plump for a closed automobile.

The prospect of lodging the members of the party was not made brighter by one of the Secret Service officers telling us that on each trip at least ten of the reporters are in the habit of losing their baggage and a considerable number, in the hurry of departure, do not get around to paying their bills. He wondered whether their accounts could be forwarded to them in London so as to avoid such complications, but I told him German innkeepers were in the habit of demanding to be paid on the nail, and we had better take our chances on following the conventional way. Most all work of a substantive nature has come to an end in this establishment. In view of the length of the President's visit in London and Paris, I dread to think of what the Embassies there will be faced with.

De Myers presented me this afternoon with a book written by himself and Arnold Toynbee, called "The Historical Atlas and Gazetteer". It is volume 11 of "A Study of History" published by

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Oxford University Press. It has a fascinating series of maps, most of them drawn by Myers.

E and I dined tonight with the Herb Altschulls.

Wednesday, August 19, 1959

Further consideration of arrangements for the presidential visit commenced at nine o'clock this morning and went merrily on until noon. Some pixie in the German Foreign Office has begun to worry over whether next week there will be sufficient daylight at 8 o'clock for the President to find his way into the Embassy Residence. Consequently, he has advocated an earlier departure from Washington. We gave him short shrift.

Flags are now causing concern. It seems that the flagpole at the residence will not accommodate, in addition to its present huge red, white and blue burden bordered with gold fringe, the President's own flapper. When we pointed out the impossibility of accommodating it together with the present flag on other than a good-sized forest tree, the White House boys, with their usual ingenuity, decided to send for a smaller piece of bunting. This led us on to the subject of car flags, and we are to have an assortment of them of various sizes dispatched by airplane. Apparently they can be affixed to a car in a matter of seconds.

Tasca and I have talked for some time about the lack of

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appreciation of the tremendous economic strength of Germany, and today we sent off the following telegram regarding it (see pages 101-103).

General Frederic H. Smith, Jr. came to lunch with me alone. I am immensely pleased with him and found his views of the utmost interest. We are lucky to have had such a star as General Everest replaced by another seeming constellation.

Tom Stephens went off to Paris this afternoon after a helpful visit here. He told me in confidence something which pleased me greatly. Upon Cliff Folger's retirement as Ambassador to Belgium he is to be replaced by Bill Burden.

Minister for Atomic Affairs Balke paid me a visit this afternoon.

After several days cool weather, it is again suitable for swimming, but I have had no chance to take advantage of it.

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TELEGRAM

Foreign Service of the United States of America

OUTGOING AMEMBASSY BONN

10

Charge: CONFIDENTIAL (Classification) Control: 526

Date: AUGUST 19, 1959 3 PM

AMB
DCM
ECON
POL
USIS

SENT TO: SecState WASHINGTON ROUTINE 378

Ref: Deptel 362.

In connection with the preparation of communiqué covering Eisenhower-Adenauer talks would seem advisable to refer to outstanding importance attached by U.S. to partnership of FedRep as member NATO and Free World Community. We should not lose this additional opportunity to make clear to Khrushchev he is wasting his time in endeavoring to isolate FedRep from partners and deprive U.S. of one of its greatest security assets.

We should especially bear in mind the present economic and financial power of FedRep which generally speaking is not adequately realized. The FedRep, or this truncated portion pre-war Germany (52% of pre-war area), can boast following achievements:

1. A GNP closely approximating that of U.K. Growth rate has notably exceeded that of U.K. in recent years;

2. Largest gold and dollar reserves in free world outside of U.S.--i.e., 4.3 billion as compared with some 3.2 billion for the whole of the sterling area;

3. Third world's producer of steel -- after U.S. and U.S.S.R.;

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102

TELEGRAM

Foreign Service of the United States of America

OUTGOING : American Embassy, BONN

Charge: CONFIDENTIAL (Classification) Control: 524

- 2 - Date:

4. Largest sales volume of electronic equipment and products in free world after the U.S.;

5. Third world's producer of cement after U.S. and U.S.S.R.;

6. Second in world's production motor vehicles;

7. Largest exports of manufactures after U.S. during last quarter 1958;

8. Share in world trade 8.4 percent, compared with 10.1 percent for U.K.--i.e., in third position in world trade but over past years appears to be overtaking U.K.; the FedRep accounts for 9.4 percent of world exports compared with 9.6 percent for U.K.;

9. Development into important source of economic, financial and technical aid to underdeveloped areas--e.g., its quota in World Bank has increased from 330 to 1,050 million dollars; in the IMF from 330 to 787.5 million dollars; 200 million dollars to EEC overseas investment fund, etc.

[redacted]

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103

TELEGRAM

Foreign Service of the United States of America

OUTGOING

Charge: CONFIDENTIAL (Classification) Control: 524

 Date:

and technical
10. Financial, and economic/capacity of the FedRep to contribute billions of dollars to the development and production of advanced weapons in defense of the free world limited by political judgment of its NATO partners as to nature and extent of such contribution.

BRUCE

AUTH: AMB - Ambassador Bruce

Coordinated: in draft

ECON: - WCOckey
:FP - WBrown
CA - EBecker

CN 524

NJTasca/DBruce/gp 3201 8/19/59

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Thursday, August 20, 1959

E and I went out this morning to meet the Earl Warrens at Wahn Airport. Dr. Herbst traveled with them from Berlin and is their accompanist during their tour of Germany as guests of the Federal Government. Minister von Merkatz and his wife, Chief of Protocol von Braun and others were present. The Chief Justice and the Minister made short radio addresses before being sped away in a motorcycle calvacade.

The Warrens are the nicest imaginable couple, and it is a great pleasure to have them in the house. We all went to a lunch given in their honor by President Heuss at Villa Hammerschmidt. This afternoon the Chief Justice signed the Golden Books of Bonn and Bad Godesberg while I was at the office.

Tonight we went to an 8:15 buffet reception given at the Foreign Minister's house by von Merkatz (von Brentano being in Baden-Baden). We took the precaution, before leaving home, to stay our appetites with a little domestic food.

I had useful talks during the evening with Dr. Globke, van Scherpenberg and Dr. Bott about the President's visit. On the way to dinner I found the Chief Justice as agreeable as anyone I have ever met.

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Progress was made on all fronts today on matters connected with the President's visit. A proper Mercedes car has been found. Its top is to be slit and rolled back, and some sort of stanchion screwed to the front seat so [redacted] the President can hang on to it while waving to crowds.

An alarming piece of intelligence was given me this evening by Tasca who got it from a White House Secret Service man. It is now believed that 25 of his colleagues will come here, including 5 ordinarily assigned as personal bodyguards to Mrs. Eisenhower. Jim Hagerty [redacted] thought she would not come as her mother is [redacted] ill. If she does decide to do so, then Mac Herter will also make the trip. How we will get them all into the Embassy Residence, unless some of them dwell in tents, is unfathomable.

The Chancellor only intends to come back from Cadenabbia the day before the President's arrival. Meanwhile, we can not find out who will be with him when they have their serious discussions. He may wish to have a talk limited to the two and an interpreter. From our standpoint this would be unsatisfactory, since we should at least have one of our own people taking notes.

Friday, August 21, 1959

Beautiful warm weather. Conditions in the house are becoming quite untenable. The place swarms with communications people,

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security guards and others engaged in various occupations. Part of the basement has been transformed into what looks like a snack bar. The greatest demand seems to be for endless streams of coffee. People clamber up and down the fire escape and in and out of our rooms, I sought in vain this morning for my ruby cuff-links, and would gladly ascribe their disappearance to a man who had just clambered through my window with a telephone if it were not that I expect they will be discovered in the laundry.

At the office I attended the usual morning meeting on The Visit. We intend shortly to make dry runs to see that all procedures are thoroughly understood. I have been charged by the Secret Service with the task of guarding against the Chancellor taking the President down to the summer house at the end of Palais Schumburg garden for a seductive conversation. It seems this little building would be difficult to protect.

David and Nicky are full of gratitude this morning for their trip to Wiesbaden yesterday. They set off early with Ruth and a bagful of sandwiches to spend the day looking at a baseball double-header.

We had a lunch today for Chief Justice and Mrs. Warren, which stretched the diningroom table to its utmost. The guests were: Minister for Bundesrat and Länder Affairs and Mrs. von

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Merkatz, the British Ambassador and Lady Steel, Miss Irene Boyle (houseguest of the Steels), the Ambassador of India and Mrs. Tyabji, the Ambassador of Portugal and Mrs. Laborinho, the Minister of Ireland and Mrs. Warnock, State Secretary and Mrs. van Scherpenberg, the Chief of Protocol and Mrs. von Braun, Dr. Hans Berger, Dr. and Mrs. Axel Herbst, and the Clare Timberlakes.

After lunch van Scherpenberg took me aside and said he was not under instructions to do so, but he wanted me to know that Soviet Ambassador Smirnow had delivered a letter from Khrushchev to be forwarded to the Chancellor. The Foreign Office is unaware of the contents and he requested me not to report the occurrence. This follows a recent message from Khrushchev delivered through the Soviet Ambassador to de Gaulle, who is evidently annoyed over being tracked down in his country retreat. Our people in Paris have been well briefed on this letter. The most important part of it, to us here, was Khrushchev's denunciation of Adenauer and the revanchist tendencies of the Federal Republic. Also, he was very tough indeed about Berlin, saying he was unwilling under any circumstances to tolerate the present occupation status there.

I have been reading an interesting top secret account of a meeting at Lake Como on August 16 between Adenauer, Ambassador Stikker, General Norstad, Spaak and de Staercke. Adenauer initially stated his support for "tripartism" but under attack withdrew it.

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The Belgians especially are opposed to having France speak for the Continentals. In the course of Adenauer's remarks he expressed his lack of confidence in the U.K., but agreed with the others that NATO came first; after that, in order of priority, is European integration, based on cooperation of France and Germany. Adenauer said he would urge upon the President when he sees him in Bonn the necessity for concerted allied support for the French position on Algeria in the UN. His own judgment is that, if the de Gaulle program for Algeria were to fail and Algeria under present conditions became independent, it would quickly be Communist ruled, and from Algeria Communist domination would spread not only to Africa but to Italy and France as well. Stikker recognized that de Gaulle would be in a most difficult political position if he tried to spell out at this time a liberal Algerian program.

This afternoon I saw Arthur Olsen of The New York Times, Henry van Vredenburch, the Netherlands Ambassador, and Fred Luchsinger of the Neue Zuercher Zeitung.

Van Vredenburch was primarily interested in talking to me about the Chancellor's remarks at the Lake Como luncheon. He was [redacted] told about them by Stikker. He thought it would be an excellent idea if the President would try to dispel some of Adenauer's fears about British policy. I had talked to Steel some

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time ago about the possibility of this subject being brought up in the Eisenhower-Adenauer conversations. Evidently Steel reported to his Government and told me recently it had replied, saying it was hoped President Eisenhower would not take the initiative about this. The press campaign in England, both against Germany and France, has reached a high pitch. Chauvel, French Ambassador in London, has protested to the British Foreign Office about it, and has received the obvious reply that there is a free press in the U. K.

When I went to my bedroom, later to be occupied by the President, I found a distinctive White House telephone installed in it. There will be one in each room of the house. When the receiver is picked up, the switchboard operator in the basement answers, "White House Bonn". This is some organization.

The Chief Justice used to be very fond of bird shooting and started his sons on ducks and pheasants at an early age. When the eldest boy became 12, he asked whether he could not go out after quail with his father. By that time the boy had become a devoted naturalist and subscribed to various magazines on conservation of wildlife. His father, during a vacation period, arranged to take him to Lower California where quail were plentiful, and the two went down together. They were taken out to the hunting grounds by a local police chief. The first two covies they saw consisted of

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young birds hardly able to fly under the guidance of the cock and hen birds. The boy told his father he was unwilling to shoot at them because if they killed the old birds the young would certainly die. Accordingly, the Warrens packed up their gear, told the astonished police chief that it was too early in the season, and returned to the United States. The Mexican did not comprehend this conduct. I suppose he [redacted] was accustomed to shooting quail the year round, no matter what the size of the victims.

Saturday, August 22, 1959

Chief Justice and Mrs. Warren left this morning for a Rhine trip, at the conclusion of which they will proceed to Baden-Baden. I wish they could have stayed indefinitely. I could not see them off, for I had to attend the early morning meeting on presidential planning at the Embassy.

Alternative plans have been made to have a special train standing by in Frankfurt in case Wahn Airport might be closed in by weather. In such an event, ceremonies would take place at the Frankfurt Airport and again at the Bonn railroad station. To complicate things further, we are now confronted with the necessity, if take-off weather should be bad on the 27th, of quartering the presidential party for another night. This would really fray the nerves of all members of our community.

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Requests flow in from photographers, tape recording amateurs and other independent souls asking for interviews, autographs, or even opportunities to see the President silhouetted against a window. One of my neighbors yesterday said if I could induce the President to show himself at his bathroom window at a certain time in the morning, her child would like to photograph him.

The UP wanted to have a talk with Sasha on the subject of "How it feels to give up your bedroom for the President of the U. S. ". Unhappily for me, it is my bedroom and not hers he will occupy. The children, nurse and I are going to the guest house in Plittersdorf to sleep; E will stay behind to housekeep.

We have weighed in the better part of an ox; this takes care of the steak problem. As to other dietary requirements, beef bacon is the only one we have been unable to meet. One of our Washington contacts had undertaken to bring over a case of the President's Scotch whiskey, so that burden has been lifted from our shoulders.

The Germans at our meeting seem astonished by the multitude of details to be considered. Fortunately, to the White House representatives here, this whole exercise is almost normal routine. Helicopters have been added to our facilities to take care of stragglers in emergencies. Sgt. Golema, as a transportation expert, is now present at all morning meetings. He looks wise and remains silent.

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Last night the masseur at the local Kurhaus called up to offer to knead the President's muscles.

The big decision arrived at today was to fly the President's and the Secretary of State's secretaries by helicopter from the airport to the residence so that, with their traveling electric typewriters (and perhaps computing machines), they would be in place as soon as the motorcade discharged its passengers. One telephone for each member of the party is now ready to function, and on Monday the communications experts are to brief potential users on the manipulation of the buttons.

Identification badges are causing anxiety. It was first [redacted] decided to issue them to everyone, including airplane crew members who will number about 75 persons. Someone with a disturbing turn of mind questioned whether this would be appropriate in the case of the maintenance repair people since, as he put it, "The German police might arrest a man in greasy overalls who was wearing a badge and said he was a newspaper reporter."

The threat of Mrs. Eisenhower's arrival still hangs over our heads. I would love to see her come, but my views are not shared by the signal corps experts, for this would mean a rearrangement of the entire telephone system. A good deal of printing work is also going on. A White House telephone directory is to be issued, as well as a program of events. A large banner will be hung over the

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entrance to the Plittersdorf community. Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts are alerted to the opportunity of wearing their uniforms as the President drives by. The security men dislike the use of pop guns, water pistols, and firecrackers on such occasions, but say experience has shown if any order is issued on the subject this will double the danger. "I Like Ike" placards are being cut out of cardboard by some of the youth. On an official level, we are striking off several hundred paper American flags since none remain in the shops of Bonn or Bad Godesberg.

Some members of the foreign diplomatic colony would have liked to join in the merrymaking, but German protocol has decreed there is no place for them, even for the Papal Nuncio as Doyen.

Ernie Leiser came out to the house this evening for a talk.

Sunday, August 23, 1959

Jean Monnet arrived at 7 this morning. He came from his vacation in the Swiss mountains to spend the day with us and do some writing. Faithful Madame Migues is here from Luxembourg to transcribe for him.

He has two principal concerns. The first is to follow up his letter of August 13 to Adenauer with a more detailed description of what could, in his opinion, be the association between Europe's

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Common Market and the United States, and the means by which this might be realized. The objective is the elimination of commercial discriminations and the lowering of tariff barriers.

The second concern is [redacted] quite startling. He had injured his knee in Switzerland and said as a result he had more time for reflection than ordinarily. He is writing to de Gaulle (who had invited him to correspond confidentially with him whenever he so desired) advocating that France and Germany agree to present a united front in international affairs. To this end it would be necessary for them to have political instruments which would permit them constantly to follow a common policy. His suggestion is for a committee on foreign policy embracing a small number of ministers of both nations. This committee would be placed for the first period of two years under the chairmanship of the President of the French Republic and, for the second two years, under that of the Chancellor of the Federal Republic. There would be other provisions for a restricted parliamentary group consisting of members from the Assemblies of the two countries.

Monnet believes it is only while de Gaulle and Adenauer are in power that quick progress could be made toward political integration. Instead of a treaty taking a long time to negotiate and ratify according to traditional procedure, he hopes this time that such a

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decision, announced jointly by de Gaulle and Adenauer, would receive the approval of the French and German peoples in a referendum. It would also be proposed to the other countries of the European Community that they adhere to this union by accepting the regulations originally laid down by France and Germany.

He was full of other ideas, including an association between the Common Market and the United States, founded upon consultation. Also, he would like serious attention paid to a reformation of the educational systems of the West to give more opportunity for the composition [redacted] in each country of an elite to match the great efforts and what he regards as thesuccess of Soviet endeavors in this respect, especially in science.

Another subject engaging his attention is to create a small organization with direct participation by the United States, representation of the European Community, of Great Britain and the Commonwealth to articulate their relations with and assistance to underdeveloped countries.

I suppose it is possible de Gaulle might interest himself in this proposal for a decisive act in the direction of union between France and Germany. If so, it would fall upon the unsuspecting like an H-bomb.

The clarity of Jean's mind is amazing. He views it as

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impracticable to have any general consultation on political union between the Six nations since either Adenauer or de Gaulle or both of them would probably be dead or out of power by the time interim committees had finished their disputations of texts to be submitted to Governments and Parliaments.

He went off in the late afternoon to see Etzel about other matters and returned late to our house where he spent the night, before his departure at 6 a.m. for Paris.

Monday, August 24, 1959

This morning the regular nine o'clock meeting on the presidential arrangements turned up nothing insoluble. Freiherr von Braun is to be told the contents of a telegram from the White House saying the President has no specific requests about diet except for preferring food with a low fat content.

I cleaned up my bedroom yesterday to make it ready for the Big Chief. This entailed the disposition of shotguns, fishing rods, stacks of prints accumulating dust on the floor, bottles of whiskey, gin and vodka, masses of personal correspondence, an assortment of trinkets, statuary and porcelain which, up to this point, the rest of the household had for two years been striving to have removed from what they called "Daddy's antique shop".

We had a telegram this morning from the Department reporting

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Murphy's hope that the Chancellor would frankly expose to the President his views on a long-range solution to the Berlin question as contrasted with the short-run position exhorting all to stand fast. He stated the President would also be interested in the Chancellor's attitude toward the Eastern territories question and relations with the Poles, as well as Adenauer's best judgment on tactics to be pursued on reunification.

This afternoon Jack Tuthill came to see me. He has left his position as Economic Counselor at the Paris Embassy and has been replaced by Jacques Reinstein. Tuthill will shortly go to Washington to take over RA. He is a superior officer. He believes the original British proposal on association between the Common Market and Free Trade Area should have been unacceptable, as indeed it was, to the French Government and the other partners. Also, it was badly handled by the negotiators. He had discussed with Monnet the latter's views as to how a satisfactory association could be brought about, and agrees with Monnet on the necessity of the United States becoming involved in an eventual arrangement so as not to be discriminated against.

Korean Ambassador Sohn came to see me. He had met the President some years ago and wished to know if there might be an opportunity to pay his respects to Eisenhower. I told him this would

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be impracticable.

Sohn then asked me whether I could verify or deny a statement made to him by a reliable source whose identity he could not divulge, that the United States at the next UN meeting would not make its customary proposal for Korean membership since such an action might be considered offensive to Khrushchev. I suggested he communicate with his own Government on this subject, but he requested I try to get an answer from the State Department.

Randolph Churchill came to the house tonight. He is [redacted] fat but has a fine hea . He deprecated attacks made by the British press on Germany. He talked a good deal about his father's interest in European unity and his conception of the U. K. occupying a sort of nexus position between the English speaking peoples, a united Europe, and the rest of the world. He thought if his father had not been defeated in 1945 he would have been more active in trying to bring this about.

Tom Stephens is spending tonight and tomorrow night with us. He arrived in time for dinner, and I had a [redacted] conversation with him afterwards. Within the limits of discretion, he told me a lot of amusing anecdotes about White House office life.

We continue to have odd requests from people wishing to meet the President. Today a woman representing herself as being his

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father's sister's daughter, presented documents to someone in the Embassy, designed to bring about an appointment. I have not yet heard whether her credentials are entirely fictitious. If the wishes of the local diplomatic colony could be carried out, the President's entire stay here would be devoted to the reception of ceremonial callers.

A lot of time is occupied in planning for the use of Rhein-Main Airport in case they cannot land the jet at Wahn on the 26th. Having a special train waiting there constitutes no problem but, as usual, the press, television and radio men, as well as the desire of German officials to put on a celebration, demands much planning. If the party does have to proceed from Frankfurt by train to Bonn, there would be another reception in the crowded railroad station at Bonn.

Tuesday, August 25, 1959

Tom Stephens and I went down together to the nine o'clock meeting. There seems little left to be done in the way of presidential planning.

Herr Kurt Birrenbach, member of various Boards of industrial companies as well as of the Bundestag Committee on Foreign Affairs, came to see me this morning. He is an intelligent fellow whom I have met several times.

I went to call on van Scherpenberg at his invitation and reported our interview in the following telegram (pages 120-124).

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TELEGRAM

Foreign Service of the United States of America

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Charge:

SECRET
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Control: 693

Date: 25 August 1959 - 5 PM

MR. STEPHENS
MR. HERTER
MR. MERCHANT

SENT TO: SecState WASHINGTON PRIORITY 434
RPT TO: AmEmbassy LONDON PRIORITY 107
AmEmbassy PARIS PRIORITY 122
AmEmbassy MOSCOW PRIORITY 54
AmEmbassy ROME PRIORITY 19

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Van Scherpenberg sent for me this morning to say Chancellor had instructed him give me summary 13-page personal letter from Khrushchev, but he was not authorized to give full text. Letter had said no publication of text would be made by Soviets and it would be left entirely in Adenauer's discretion whether he published it. This he has not yet decided.

Van Scherpenberg stated it differed from recent Soviet notes and letters in that it was in terms such as customarily are used only from person to person, and its language was unusually courteous in spite of the sternness of some of its contents.

It started off with an historical review of Soviet-German relations which are now at a turning point. Khrushchev remarked that, if statements by Chancellor and other FedRep statesmen that they have no territorial claims against the Soviets are true, then there are only ideological differences between the two Governments. (Scherpenberg commented that the implications of this portion are unclear.)

The letter goes on to point out there are two independent German

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states. Adenauer has not been willing to accept this situation, but it does no good to ignore reality.

Then there were references to the militaristic and revanchist tendencies of the West Germans. FedRep is the strongest power amongst the capitalist nations of Europe and is able to build a strong army, which facts the Soviets recognize. But even if FedRep military strength and that of allies are added together, they will not be able to match Soviet armed forces. In this connection, there was bragging about Soviet military power and references to missiles and rockets.

Khrushchev mentioned Hitler's demands for more breathing space for Germany and said recent developments in the FedRep demonstrate this is not necessary.

If FedRep and Adenauer personally do not subscribe to revanchist ideas, then what prevents them signing a general peace treaty to legalize present state of affairs and tranquilize other peoples as well as their own?

No one should believe FedRep would become socialist or East Germany capitalist against the wish of their own people.

Adenauer's government has done everything to prevent a settlement of the Berlin question, although it has no rights, legal or otherwise, to deal with Berlin. As long as there is no peace treaty with Germany, as long as occupation lasts, as long as in West Berlin, "the center of the GDR" foreign troops remain, it will always be easy to create conditions

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Date:

leading to catastrophe. Then followed another appeal to accept reality. The conclusion of a peace treaty would bring reunification into the realm of practicality. If Adenauer wants reunification, he must change present policy.

It is purely an internal question whether Germany develops along capitalist or socialist lines. Invitation to other nations to mix in this affair is dangerous and could lead to war.

If Adenauer desires to leave solution such questions to institutions where capitalist states have 3 votes and socialists only 1, this is absurd and unacceptable. Under the circumstances, the Soviets have reason to believe Adenauer does not want reunification but wishes to continue the cold war. If this were not true, Chancellor would make contacts with GDR to achieve results. As USSR has often said, unless Chancellor accepts such contacts with GDR no reunification is possible. Therefore, he should accept formation of an- all-German commission.

USSR has never refused reunification but it must be reached by agreement between two German states.

Khrushchev accuses FedRep delegation at Geneva of having been foremost in objecting to an all-German commission.

Regarding rearmament, FedRep is more interested in equipment of Bundeswehr with missiles and nuclear s weapons than in reunification. USSR has already warned FedRep and now repeats the dangers of this.

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Talks between President Eisenhower and Khrushchev are imminent. The main forces directed against the Soviet Union are stationed in Germany, France and England. This means in the event of war the front line would be in FedRep and she would suffer the brunt of USSR attacks. Khrushchev appeals to Chancellor to overcome his prejudice against GDR and other socialist countries and to establish normal relations with his neighbors. (Scherpenberg finds this reference obscure, so far as it applies to GDR.)

If all this fails, USSR will have to make separate peace treaty with GDR. Another appeal to Chancellor to make his contribution to finish cold war.

Paper ends by referring to prospective talks between US and USSR. Language is approximately, "We attach great importance to forthcoming talks with President Eisenhower. Perhaps we find ourselves on edge of historical turning point in relations between two blocs which might lead to rapprochement and guarantee of peaceful co-existence between all states." USSR can not limit itself to talking to President about maize and cucumbers but will address itself to unsolved problems of the world.

Most important unsolved problem is to liquidate remains of last

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war. USSR convinced basis required for mutually acceptable agreement can be found. For its part, it will do everything possible to contribute to such end.

BRUCE

AUTH: David Bruce

Embtel 413 - CN 635 CONF - Aug 24

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After van Scherpenberg finished telling me about the Khrushchev letter, he expressed some personal views on the question of relations between the Federal Republic and the satellite countries. This matter is under constant discussion in the German press and there are differences of opinion about it in the Foreign Office. Van Scherpenberg is inclined to believe eventual recognition of Poland is inevitable. I told him I thought before any such step were decided upon, his Government should consult with our own. Also, if it is done, timing is very important. The mess they made over possible non-aggression pacts with Poland and Czechoslovakia toward the end of the Geneva Conference should not be repeated.

Felix von Eckardt lunched with me. He has just returned from vacation. I gather he was not undisturbed while away. He has drafted a suggested speech for the Chancellor to deliver on September 1, the 20th anniversary of the beginning of World War II.

The other day Monnet told me, to my great surprise, of his having on some occasions asked to see the Chancellor alone without an interpreter. The last time he did so they spoke French together for an hour. He said this required great concentration on the part of Adenauer.

Adenauer arrived at Wahn Airport this afternoon from Cadenabbia. Our people took advantage of this to make a dry run in preparation for tomorrow's happenings. Everything went well.

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Wednesday, August 26, 1959

At the morning meeting the weather prognostications were favorable, so it is expected the President can come directly into Wahn. On the strength of this, the Germans have asked us whether they could not distribute to hospitals the food for 200 people which they have had put on the special train at Frankfurt. We shall ask them not to do so, since other factors than weather can still cause the diversion of the jet to Rhein-Main Air Base.

Henry Pleasants came to see me this morning. He asked if I had ever heard Hilaire Belloc's definition of Germany as, "An odd sieve through which civilization gets to the Slavs."

Bill Tyler returned this morning, and I had a talk with the boys in the Political Section on the briefing I am expected to give the President at breakfast tomorrow.

The atmosphere for Eisenhower's visit to Paris has not been improved lately by Prime Minister Debre's intemperate attacks on France's allies. To use a French expression, Debre must have been eating lion meat.

Herr Mondorf of the Schaumbergerhof has been trotting around with two bottles of superb Mosel wine, trying to get them into proper channels for presentation to the President. Pleasants and I think we know what these channels should be.

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After a good deal of telegraphing back and forth, the Secretary has insisted that I remain at the residence during the President's stay. The kids departed this morning, carrying one dog and one bird with them, for what should be a happy stay in Plittersdorf where they have always wanted to live.

E, Don Junior and I drove out to Wahn Airport this afternoon. The streets were already beginning to be lined with spectators but, owing to excellent police arrangements, we suffered little delay in transit.

The jet press plane came in an hour ahead of the President, and its 100 passengers seated themselves in wooden bleachers facing microphones. Thousands of people jammed the approaches to the reserved space and were held back by ropes. Others were massed on the control tower. The members of the German Cabinet, Gerstenmaier, President of the Federal House of Representatives, the Chancellor and other dignitaries were grouped beneath a tent erected to provide shelter in case of rain. Fortunately, the day was cloudless, with no humidity.

The huge presidential jet drew up in front of a Guard of Honor exactly at the appointed hour of 6:30. The President came down the ramp, to be [redacted] met by the Chancellor, General Heusinger, Chief of Protocol von Braun, myself and other fry. Everything went off

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as scheduled. A 21-gun salute was fired, the two national anthems played, a large Guard of Honor reviewed. Von Braun presented the President to the Germans, and I to the Embassy contingent. The Chancellor and President then made short radio addresses and set off in a motorcade toward Bonn. No Roman triumph was ever celebrated with more enthusiasm.

Beginning at the airport until they reached the residence almost two hours later, the President and Chancellor stood in their open car waving to the madly welcoming men, women and children who massed on the route in such numbers as to seem as if they had sprung out of the earth. Even in long country stretches ordinarily deserted, knots of flag-wavers were posted. In the villages, the noise and cheers were deafening. Nothing except goodwill was manifested, and every face wore a smile. By the time we reached Bonn it was dusk, but the two statesmen were still visible during their progress to our house.

It had been arranged for our street to be cleared, but the police found this beyond their powers. A good-natured crowd allowed the Chancellor's car, as well as those behind it, which were shepherded by squads of motorcyclists, to go through, but then closed in again around the residence and remained there until about ten o'clock when the President appeared and said goodnight to them. The whole spectacle had been very moving.

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Chris Herter and von Brentano came along behind the Chancellor, and Grewe and myself after them. Tom Stephens kindly arranged for E to return from the airport with him. In spite of the exhausting journey, the President looked in perfect condition, ruddy, relaxed and gratified over this extraordinary demonstration.

We all had drinks and Major Eisenhower, Earl Eisenhower (who had been given leave from his army unit to be present on this occasion), the Secretary, General Snyder, Livie Merchant, Andy Goodpaster, E and myself dined together on the wholesome fare of consomme, steak, salad and apple pie. When young Earl Eisenhower told his uncle he was studying Russian, the President laughed and said he was the first Eisenhower who had ever been able to learn a foreign language.

He was in top form throughout the evening and finally got to bed about 10:30. John Eisenhower, General Snyder, Mrs. Whitman, and Sergeants Moaney and Woodward stayed in the house.

The children returned from Plittersdorf to shake the President's hand. He remembered that he had lunched with us in Versailles just before E left for Paris where Nicky was born that night.

Ned Nordness gave a huge party for the press correspondents at the Dreesen Hotel, and Timberlake a buffet for the rest of the presidential party at his house.

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Thursday, August 27, 1959

The President, Snyder, John and I had breakfast at seven o'clock, at which time I was supposed to give a short briefing on subjects likely to be raised today by the Chancellor. I found the President already thoroughly posted, so we fell peacefully on our victuals. The President's appetite was quite amazing. He had fruit, steak, coffee, toast and honey, and then, with a laugh at General Snyder, helped himself to the scrambled eggs and bacon the rest of us were eating.

Some of the Embassy wives came to the house to be introduced by E to the President. Then, preceded by von Braun, he and I started at 8:15 on a trip, via Plittersdorf, to the Villa Hammerschmidt. The demonstration was about the same as that of last night, although the distance covered was much shorter. Again it was a brilliant day, and I think every member of our community at Plittersdorf was on the streets. The President waved and shouted without cessation until we reached the comparative quiet of the presidential grounds. There he descended, had a talk with Heuss, was introduced to President-elect Luebke, and photographed on the porch.

A half hour later, we drove to the chancellery, and, after more photographs, he was taken off by the Chancellor for a private conversation while the Secretary, von Brentano and the rest of us waited in an

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adjoining room. The Chancellor had his own interpreter, Weber, with him, and Martin Hillenbrand took notes for the President.

When they emerged an hour and a half later, they joined the larger group including senior advisors, and discussed the formulation of a communiqué, including the French problem as it is connected with NATO, the Algerian question, and an anticipated Arab attempt in the UN Assembly to obtain a majority of 2/3 for a resolution condemnatory of France.

According to Hillenbrand, the private talks proceeded more or less along the lines we expected. Amongst subjects taken up were:

1. The impending visit of Khrushchev in the United States.

2. The letter recently received by the Chancellor from Khrushchev and the proposed reply.

3. The President's forthcoming talks with de Gaulle and certain personal characteristics of the French President.

4. The present situation in NATO, with special reference to France.

5. The problem of Algeria and prospective discussions of it in the UN Assembly.

The Chancellor also spoke on political prospects inside Germany.

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At five minutes of twelve, I went with the President to the Federal Press headquarters where for half an hour he answered questions from American and German reporters in a fashion described by them later with singular unanimity as [redacted] excellent.

A group of about 14 lunched in the Chancellor's private dining room. Adenauer proposed a witty and generalized toast to the President. The President replied, thanking the Chancellor for his reception and referring to the unique position occupied by his host. He then spoke at some length on the responsibility of the rich countries of the world to assist the underdeveloped countries. He said 1,900,000 human beings are underfed, underclothed and inadequately sheltered. In the long run, this disparity between the "haves" and the "have nots" may even overshadow the present threat of communism. He added we should concert our efforts to remedy this situation which did not merely pose a question of altruism but [redacted] one of survival.

After lunch the Chancellor presented the President with a magnificent 18th century Meissen tea set. It was of museum quality. The hot water kettle was the finest I have ever seen, [redacted] mounted with ormolu. In return, the President gave Adenauer, on behalf of Mrs. Eisenhower and himself, a fine set of Steuben flower plates.

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The President went to a bedroom upstairs and slept for an hour before rejoining Adenauer in his private office. Meanwhile, Chris and the rest of us sat on the terrace discussing politics and policies.

Unfortunately, the President slipped into Adenauer's office without anyone from the American side being present to take notes, so we must rely on Weber's transcript of what occurred. They remained together an hour or longer, and are said to have dealt with disarmament, Berlin and the entire German problem, contacts between West and East Germany, and establishment of relations between Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Federal Republic.

Plans for the return trip to the airport were changed last night so as to give more time for conversations at the chancellery. It was decided to fly the party in four U. S. Army helicopters from Plittersdorf to Wahn. The trip took exactly seven minutes. Of course it was impossible, because of noise, to talk.

The Guard of Honor was again on the job, and Adenauer and the President once again trooped the line. Eisenhower showed Adenauer, Strauss and a few others the interior of his plane, and took off for London promptly as arranged at 5:15, expecting to arrive there an hour and a quarter later.

Although he is almost 69, it seemed to me the President looked

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as well as he did ten years ago. His spirits were high and he projected his magnetic personality in what was really an amazing fashion. His personal charm is quite overpowering, and he gives the impression, which I believe to be entirely in character, of combining humility with assurance as well as emanating sincerity.

In view of the elaborate preparations made for the visit, one would have expected the ceremonies to have been marred by some inadvertent mistake. Actually, there never was a hitch in the proceedings, and the whole thing was an immense success from every point of view. When I said goodby to the Chancellor at the airport, he [redacted] almost in tears, [redacted] evidently overjoyed by what had taken place, and showed no fatigue. He is going off tomorrow to Cadenabbia to resume his vacation, whereas the President will meet his most difficult test when he sees de Gaulle in Paris.

Adenauer had, as expected, stressed the importance of supporting de Gaulle in the next UN debate on [redacted] Algeria. The President in reply [redacted] outlined our position, [redacted] saying no military solution seemed possible and we could not and would not give de Gaulle a blank check. However, we would support him when and if he announced a plan for the solution of the Algerian question [redacted] consistent with the principles of our policy. In any case, the President said, de Gaulle should announce the outlines of some

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solution. The Chancellor expressed his fears of the result of possible communist domination of Algeria. The President told him he considered de Gaulle an old friend, and he was disposed to do everything he properly could to assist him in his difficulties.

I think both statesmen realize the dilemma in which de Gaulle finds himself. If he were to propose a detailed liberal plan for Algeria, he would find himself in great trouble politically at home.

I motored back from the airport and had a late swim before dinner.

Friday, August 28, 1959

At the office it seemed like the aftermath of a storm. All our people were jubilant over the late enterprise.

John Oakes, chief editorial writer of The New York Times, and Arthur Olsen lunched with me. John [redacted] served with me in OSS.

This afternoon I saw John Mecklin and John Osborn of Time-Life who are preparing articles on the German part of the President's tour.

We had a large staff meeting this afternoon, and afterwards the Italian Ambassador Quaroni came to the residence to be briefed on yesterday's occurrences. I had done this same thing earlier in the day, for whatever benefit there might be in it, for Francois Seydoux. Quaroni stayed a long time and we had an amusing talk.

Virginia and Ambrose Chambers [redacted] arrived this afternoon to

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stay with us. We dined together and sat up late.

Saturday, August 29, 1959

At the office. Beautiful day, but it continues too cool for swimming.

We were informed today by the Chancellor's office of a forthcoming communication to us giving us the notes prepared by Weber on the private talks in the afternoon of August 27 between the President and the Chancellor. Percival translated them into English and came out to the house tonight with them. We sent them off in a telegram (pages 137-149).

The Chambers' dined with us tonight. They had spent the afternoon in Cologne museums.

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TELEGRAM

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Control: 836

Date: AUGUST 29, 1959
6 PM

PRESIDENTIAL HANDLING

TO: Amembassy, LONDON (PRIORITY) 113

FROM: Amembassy, BONN

Following notes on conversation afternoon August 27 between President and Chancellor given us today by Chancellor's office for forwarding to President. Interpreter Weber has resumed his vacation in England, so we cannot check with him on contents this message which is sent as submitted to us (in Embassy translation with unnecessary articles omitted.):

"Chancellor received President Eisenhower at 3 pm August 27, 1959 for a second private conversation.

"President then indicated that he had been questioned again and again at press conference about new possibilities West Germany were thinking about to better its position with respect to Berlin and reunification. To this question, President had repeatedly replied this had to do with a matter which mostly affected the Germans. He asked Chancellor if he had any new ideas which could be studied, pursued, and offered in order to bring about a better situation; guarantee protection to Berlin; and make progress in reunification.

"Chancellor said he would answer this question most frankly. He knew and understood no one could or should carry on a nuclear war over these

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Control: 836

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Date: AUGUST 29, 19[illegible]
6 PM

PRESIDENTIAL HANDLING

questions. For him, this matter was really a human and not a national problem. He would like to see people in Soviet Zone lead a freer life. This he had publicly declared many times and he took it seriously. For him, it was a matter of human beings and not one of frontiers. He hoped President would understand that on last mentioned matter (frontiers) he could only speak publicly with greatest caution as the refugees and other groups in Federal put nationalistic feelings above human problems.

"Chancellor noted USSR had signed Human Rights Convention but paid no heed to these rights. He had spoken personally to many people who fled SovZone and, although much was over-exaggerated, it could nevertheless be seen that conditions in SovZone did not reflect provisions of Convention. He wondered if he should approach three Western Powers with carefully-studied material asking them to make an effort to see that human rights be respected in SovZone. Thereby people in SovZone might be helped and moreover a political goal achieved. He doubted population would in long run be in position to withstand constant pressure used and wondered whether it might not capitulate one day.

"In Berlin situation was very different. USSR has recognized that Three Powers have occupation rights there. Therefore, he requested Three Powers to stand on their international rights in Berlin. These measures could

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Date: AUGUST 29, 1955

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PRESIDENTIAL HANDLING

only be successful when we should succeed in achieving universal relaxation of tension through disarmament.

"President Eisenhower had given to understand in morning meeting that he was skeptical about Soviet readiness to bring about successful disarmament. A certain skepticism was not out of place but he thought it not completely out of the question that Soviets too were ready for a relaxation of tension. He did not believe Sovs would begin a war for they too according to his interpretation wanted a peaceful settlement of problems. Therefore, West on its side needed very great patience but must simultaneously remain strong too.

"President Eisenhower then stated that in disarmament question, there has been one decisive consideration for US., mutual and effective inspection. Only in this way could real confidence exist that an agreement would really be maintained. Up to now, all efforts on this question had come to naught. He was not skeptical about Soviet willingness to talk about this question but he had serious doubt that it would be possible soon to reach agreement on inspection.

"Chancellor said Khrushchev is serious about his Seven Year Plan. When Mikoyan was in Bonn in spring 1950, he spoke to him about apparent

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PRESIDENTIAL HANDLING

contradiction in Soviet economy. Mikoyan replied Stalin in his last years wouldn't consider any changes or other plans and in this period everything remained as before. Now, this situation had to be overhauled. With this reply, Mikoyan tacitly admitted economic difficulties.

"Chancellor said he followed development in USSR well as he could and had gained impression Sovietsup to now had not overcome their economic difficulties. These must be overcome; otherwise system could not maintain itself. Solution this task would be easier for Sovs if they did not spend so much money for armament.

"On control, he had spoken many times with Dulles but was not always in complete agreement. He wanted emphasize he knew nothing about nuclear disarmament but he had certain conceptions about conventional disarmament. Dulles always thought it would be extraordinarily hard to control whether Sovs really kept agreed maximum of 2.5 million troops as OR actually had 3.5 million. In his opinion, this not the decisive consideration. He thought it more important to control factories where heavy weapons, munitions therefor, tanks and airplanes were manufactured. Such control, in his view, would not be easy to carry out. If Russians wanted have another million soldiers running around without weapons, this wasn't bad.

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Foreign Service of the United States of America

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"Sovs feared U.S. Dictator simply cannot understand that someone who possesses power will not use it. Therefore he fears being attacked someday by US. Germans lived 12 years under dictatorship and experienced how much dictatorship can change human mentality. London negotiations of UN disarmament commission had gone along very well until Soviets suddenly brought negotiations to breaking point because in meantime they developed their sputnik.

[redacted]

E.O. 1.3(a)(3)
1-301(b)
E.O. 13526

"When he combined all these different factors: necessity before which Khrushchev saw himself of doing more to improve USSR living standard; indispensable unity of West, and finally possibility of a technically feasible control; then he came to have certain optimism which was supported moreover in that Khrushchev possesses enough sound human understanding to propose another way when he sees he cannot advance on his originally chosen way.

"Khrushchev would get out of his difficulties, however, if he should

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succeed in getting Fedrep or West Europe under his control and make European economic potential his own. With it, he could improve living conditions in USSR (with a low living standard even a small advance meant much) and then Khrushchev would also incline to idea that over time US would become tired, tax burden would become too great, and at last US would give up.

President said he agreed fully with Chancellor's statement and a lengthy analysis of developments disclosed certain factors which could lead to a gradual change. But he thought more about immediate future and especially about two parts, Germany and Berlin. In this connection he wished ask Chancellor specific question. He asked if Chancellor thought it politically and practically feasible and if it would be in harmony with his general conception if contacts with the SovZone, ie., with Germans in SovZone were to be increased so that without Soviets being aware centripetal instead of centrifugal forces would be at work. He knew there were certain limits. Fedrep did not wish recognize SovZone which also not politically bearable and in public mind would seem be capitulation. If it succeeded in awakening forces of kind described in both parts Germany, then this might demonstrate a new way of handling problem in immediate future.

"To this, Chancellor remarked he had discussed this question with

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Mr. Dulles when latter was last in Bonn. It had then developed that Dulles an gentleman with him were not sufficiently informed about actual situation in SovZone. Had they really known how things really looked there, they never would have posed question. Chancellor emphasized it is not that contacts do not exist because one does not want to have anything to do with these people. If he were convinced one could do something to help population of SovZone, he would immediately consider taking up contacts but this would not do any good. What Fed Government can do is being done. For example, means are given to Catholic and Evangelical Churches to maintain their churches. For people in East Zone, however, it is exceedingly difficult and dangerous to maintain contacts or accept gifts. Chancellor again assured that Fed Government does what it can. Dulles was not fully familiar with situation. When he told Dulles people from SovZone could not legally enter Fedrep, he had referred to agreement made with Sovs in Paris after ending blockade according to which free travel should be unhindered between both parts Germany. Probable that enough was not done to put these provisions into effect and make full use of our rights. Then US and British patrols watch roads to Berlin and for this purpose watchtowers were erected along roads. Gradually, however, this (system) went to sleep and is wholly forgotten.

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Chancellor again promised to do everything which Fedrep in position to do. For him, this is not prestige matter. But he had no great hopes. Therefore, as heretofore, ~~[illegible]~~ great patience was required.

"As for Berlin, ~~XXX~~ city is very strongly supported by Fedrep and for example there is no more unemployment there. As soon as Sovs wish begin something new with Berlin, answer of Three Western powers must be a decisive 'No'. He did not believe that Sovs would let it come to war over Berlin. For ~~[illegible]~~ most extreme emergency, but only for it, there is still another possibility. In his November 1958 Note Khrushchev made an alternative proposal to change Berlin to a Free City under Four Power and UN guarantee. But ~~XXX~~ than Three Powers would give up rights in Berlin. Therefore, it must be carefully studied if and when occasion ~~[illegible]~~ arises when one could admit such an idea.

"President Eisenhower asked if Khrushchev when he spoke of free access to West Berlin, could not have thought of giving up a corridor ten or two miles wide to Fedrep so that, so to say, this corridor would belong to Fedrep. Chancellor said no. President Eisenhower repeated it would have then to concern right of access and not right of ownership of this corridor. Chancellor agreed with this view but pointed out right of access would be guaranteed by Four Powers and UN.

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"President Eisenhower renewed proposal of contacts. In Geneva USSR proposed establishment of an all-German Commission which was rejected by Three Western Powers. Chancellor had now spoken of difficulties in establishing contacts. Perhaps there is another possibility to draw out the Marionette government of SovZone in one way or another. He thought for example of exchanging certain groups for three months. Especially he thought in this connection of factory managers, farmers, professors, school principals, or doctors and lawyers too. If such a proposal were made, people in Soviet Zone would have show their colors, and on other hand, West through its handling this matter would display greater flexibility. At his reception by populace, banners were displayed asking help liberate seventeen million people in East Zone. Seventeen million people there and fifty in Fedrep, however, must also make their influence felt. Chancellor said he would gladly have this proposal studied and therefore at moment would reserve his position.

"President Eisenhower pointed out Communists, in choosing their people for exchange groups of this kind, would select only 100 percent party-line people who were then to pursue subversive activity during thier stay in Fedrep. In further course this exchange program, certainly however, people would also come over here who did not stick to line. These people would then be channel

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through which truth would enter East Zone. He could of course not guarantee full success of this suggestion, but one would thereby show somewhat more flexibility. West must show more activity. SovZone regime should be placed continually before decisions so that powers there must say "Yes" or "No" to different proposals. Basic idea is that one should say to these people: "We are ready to show ourselves; you show yourselves".

"Chancellor said he had spoken with young people who were sentenced to twenty-five years imprisonment and then after early release come to Fedrep. When one hears what these people have experienced, one wishes avoid anything which might expose anyone to such danger. He would have President's proposal thoroughly examined as to its feasibility.

"Chancellor informed Presidentthen of telegram he had received from German Embassy Washington. It reported on conversation of an Embassy member with member of French Embassy. According to this conversation, De Gaulle intended to concentrate in upcoming conversations with President on Algerian question. Questions affecting NATO, for example, Tripartite Directorate and atomic weapons, were not to be raised unless President himself brought them up. In telegram, trip of De Gaulle to Algeria was reported as well as necessity to support France in the UN vote. Finally, reference was made to

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serious dangers resulting from France's defeat in the vote. Chancellor then said he thought it right to write De Gaulle a letter to inform him he had spoken with President about Algeria and believed that in quiet and objective conversation De Gaulle and President could reach an understanding. Details of his conversation with President would not be disclosed.

"President Eisenhower said Algerian problem had been studied for a long time. American Ambassador Paris had spoken thereof to De Gaulle and earlier Mr. Dulles. He was aware of seriousness particularly of this question and knew what it meant for De Gaulle and France. It was serious and ticklish matter. He had no objections if Chancellor wrote such a letter and said he believed he knew that President Eisenhower would listen carefully and with goodwill to French views. There were difficulties, however, that must be put aside. These questions will be substance of De Gaulle and President's talks. President suggested Chancellor emphasize extraordinary great interest of US in NATO and point out with respect to NATO Algerian question must be solved. Chancellor said De Gaulle was above all a psychological problem. He had spent 12 years out of things as had Chancellor. For this reason, Chancellor believed he understood him. He had impression he could help De Gaulle jump his own shadows.

"President Eisenhower recalled he had taken viewpoint progress

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E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.4
NLE-98-148 #12
By [illegible] NARA, Date 12/22/98

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Foreign Service of the United States of America

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had to be made before he would be prepared to go to Summit Conference. He asked Chancellor if his was right posture. Chancellor replied affirmatively.

"President Eisenhower then introduced question of establishing diplomatic relations with Poland and Czechoslovakia. Chancellor said Czechoslovakia not interesting but Poland was. He had declared on various occasions that any future German government must have good relations with Poland. But he and the Cabinet were of the opinion that establishing relations during Geneva Conference was impossible since then this would have been only result of Conference provided that Poles really would have wanted this. In course his last visit with De Gaulle, he asked him for his views on this matter as good relations exist between Poland and France. In his view, establishing such relations would scarcely influence [illegible] was completely under Moscow's thumb, but it would have a good effect on Polish people. He was seeking now opportunity to send President Gerstenmaier, who was in Poland year ago, to Poland again perhaps in connection with indemnification for injustices done in the invasion of Poland. He hoped he would soon be able successfully to find such an occasion.

"President Eisenhower asked if Chancellor was satisfied with tempo and type of [illegible] forces buildup. Chancellor said yes and what had been promised

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would be accomplished - 12 divisions as planned would be established by 1961.

"President Eisenhower remarked American forces were stationed all over the world and this had major financial effectsespecially through heavy requirements for foreign exchange balances. US hoped some countries would be in position to equip own military forces to greater extent, especially 'immobile forces' so US could be relieved of some of burden. At establishment NATO, one started with idea that US divisions should only remain in Europe until European military forces existed. Events had taken different course. President referred in this connection to questions which are again and again raised by Congress.

"Chancellor said expenditures during last stage German buildup are especially high - for budget year 1959/60 they are 13 billion DM - but he prepared to study what can be done in this matter after 1961."

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Sunday, August 30, 1959

No telegrams today of any consequence. The Chambers' left after lunch for Paris via Luxembourg.

John Chancellor, an English cousin of E, who is in the publishing business, arrived with his wife Alice to spend the night. The children were much taken by her beauty. Nicky, who has never before paid anyone a compliment, said she looked like a princess in a fairy tale. He was not far wrong.

Monday, August 31 1959

Japanese Ambassador Takeuchi came to see me this morning. He is about to go to Paris to attend a meeting of his colleagues from all diplomatic missions in Europe. He wanted to get copies of Nixon's speeches in Moscow. He said his Government is worried over the discriminations against its exports likely to arise from the operations of the Common Market and those of the Outer Seven.

Morris Helitzer called on me to see if I could drop him some tidbits relating to the President's visit.

I sent in my resignation today (see page 151 following).

I also received a letter from Chris Herter (page 152).

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Bonn/Bad Godesberg, Germany
August 31, 1959

Dear Mr. President:

For private reasons, with which you are familiar, I am herewith formally submitting my resignation as Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany, with the request that, if agreeable to you, the same become effective as of November 1, 1959.

I should like to add a personal word. You have honored me with two appointments abroad. Both of them were intensely interesting, and I have attempted as conscientiously and faithfully as I could to carry out the United States policies pertaining to those assignments. It has been a great satisfaction and privilege to have served under your direction as an executant of policies in the wisdom of which I have profoundly believed.

Respectfully yours,

David Bruce
American Ambassador

The President,
The White House.

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THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

London
August 28, 1959

Dear David:

You certainly did a magnificent job in making sure that everything was just right for the President's visit to Bonn. I shudder to think of the myriad of small but harrassing details which must have gone into the preparations.

More important, your counsel both before and after our arrival was just the sort that was needed to guide things along the lines which produced, in my opinion, a really successful meeting of the two principals.

I would like to impose on you one additional task, that of conveying on my behalf warmest thanks and congratulations to Minister Tasca, as coordinator; to Counselor Arch K. Jean, who I understand was in charge of the administrative arrangements; to Mr. William H. Byrd; and to all the others on your staff who must have put in long and difficult hours of work in connection with the visit.

Mac and I will be looking forward to seeing you and Evangeline in Washington before too long.

With warmest personal regards,

As ever,

Christian A. Herter

The Honorable
David K. E. Bruce,
American Ambassador,
Bonn, Germany.

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Gaston Coblentz lunched with me, and we had further conversation about his book on Foster Dulles.

Herb Altschull came to see me this afternoon. He has approached Simon Bessie with a view to writing a biography of Adenauer, which I think he could do well. He is already accumulating material for it.

The weather continues clear, with autumnal scents.

Tuesday, September 1, 1959

Spencer Phenix came in to talk to me this morning about the unsatisfactory nature of the Krupp firm's response on the question of extending the time during which it must divest itself of certain assets.

I went to see the Pakistani Ambassador Ziaud-Din. He happened to bring up the question of Krishna Menon, whom he thought the most unpleasant man he ever met. I saw later in the day a report stating Menon had resigned as Indian Defense Minister after a prodigious row with some of his associates.

Prince Otto von Bismarck had lunch with me. He is shortly going to the United States under one of our exchange programs. He wanted letters of introduction to people in New York and Washington. He is only a few months older than I am, and I first met him more than 30 years ago. A grandson of the Chancellor, he

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served in the first World War and later was a member of the Reichstag before entering the German Foreign Office. From 1928 to 1936 he was in the German Embassy in London and from 1940 to 1943 was Minister at the German Embassy in Rome. Since 1953 he has been a CDU member of the Bundestag. His English is perfect - I believe his mother was an Englishwoman. He is married to a beautiful Swede, and they have six children.

Paul Deutschman, who has been writing a history of the American Embassy in Paris, showed me some of the proofs of his book. I found the illustrations fascinating.

General William Gruber, a contemporary and friend of President Eisenhower, called on me. He lives in Carmel, California and is greatly interested in the language institute at Monterey. He is appalled at the sorry situation in our armed forces in Germany in regard to officers and men taking so little interest in learning a foreign language.

Wednesday, September 2, 1959

John Rich of NBC came to see me this morning. He is on his way home to participate in a television round-up of NBC representatives in Europe. His own part is to consist largely of comments on the Eisenhower visit to Germany. He was interested to know if I had any new views on the Berlin situation. I have not. I might have

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qu[redacted] him the English lines,

"Faced with the Gordian knot,
Cut it, if you dare,
Undo it, if you can,
If you can do neither, don't despair,
The rope will rot."

Ned Nordness and I went to the Embassy Club to lunch with [redacted] newspaper correspondents who, as one of them expressed it, make a daily habit of meeting there to pick each other's rumors to pieces. Some of the talk was directed to whether there is any way to negotiate with Khrushchev over Berlin. My own feeling remains we should stand firm, for any concessions we could afford to make at this time would be like trying to satisfy a hungry tiger with a buckwheat cake.

Much attention is being paid to the possible diplomatic recognition of Poland by the Federal Republic, and what its effect would be on relationships with Pankow. I dug out a statement on diplomatic recognition by President Franklin Pierce in 1856, in which he said, "It is the established policy of the U.S. to recognize all governments without question of their source of their organization or of the means by which the governing persons attain their power, provided there be a government de facto accepted by the people of the country."

The Chancellor broadcast on September 1 a radio address from Cadenabbia commemorating the 20th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II. Von Eckardt had spoken to me about this previously

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and I suppose his draft was largely used. Adenauer made a special appeal to Poland, apologizing for the Nazi onslaught (with observations on Soviet collaboration in it) and explaining that FedRep, unlike Hitler's Germany, was a friendly and democratic German State seeking friendship with the Polish people. For more than a century, the Chancellor observed, "these appealing people (Poles) innocently suffered as a result of political and military conflicts in Europe; they were torn apart and divided three times, and twenty years ago were first victims of war as Hitler-Germany and the Soviet Union invaded their land and horribly destroyed it." The immediate official Polish reaction was, "The Chancellor is shedding crocodile tears."

Colonel Fiel, the new Civil Affairs Officer at Heidelberg, called on me. Then came Ernie Leiser.

("Shakespeare")

Norman and Alice James arrived this afternoon and spent the night with us. He has been taking a three-month holiday in Europe after obtaining a Ph. D. degree. He will return to Chestertown, Maryland to resume teaching. His memory and the scope of his reading are extensive, the former including even such items as the inscription over the Post Office in New York, commencing:

"Neither sun nor rain nor heat nor gloom of night,
Stays the swift couriers from their appointed rounds."

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The weather remains perfect, the temperature about 70° in the daytime and 40° at night.

Thursday, September 3, 1959

This was a quiet day at the office and temptingly beautiful outside.

We had a message from the President to the Chancellor giving a resume of his conversation with Macmillan in London. Everything seemed to have been harmonious except for a slight difference of opinion about a summit meeting. The President held to his intention not to attend such a meeting unless prospects of success based on preliminary negotiations were satisfactory. Apparently Macmillan remains faithful to his desire for a catch-as-catch-can performance. The President's message was sketchy and, as Tyler observed, "pretty thin gruel".

Last night we had an Embassy television showing of the President's procession up and down the Champs Elysees with General de Gaulle. The crowds were tremendous, the President in his usual superb form, smiling and waving in every direction.

I received the following letter from President Eisenhower today (page 158).

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THE WHITE HOUSE

London,
August 30, 1959.

Dear Vangie and David:

Early riser that I am, I find I have time to dictate at least a short note to you before I take off for Balmoral Castle.

My time in Bonn was altogether too short, and I know I did not adequately tell either of you how much I enjoyed the relatively quiet evening I spent at your house. Nor did I truly express my gratitude for the many things you did to assure my comfort. Even now I shall have to content myself with a simple, but a most heartfelt, "thank you for everything."

It was fun, and relaxing, to be with you, and I was delighted to have the chance to see how handsome -- and how grownup -- your children are. I only wish Mamie could have been with me.

With warm regard, in which John joins,

As ever,

The Honorable David K. E. Bruce
and Mrs. Bruce,
The American Embassy,
Bonn.

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For almost two years I have had an order lodged with booksellers in London, Paris and Boston to get a copy of Calliere's treatise on the art of diplomacy. It is odd that I have never been able to purchase a copy of this book, extracts from which are so frequently quoted. I came across one today, in which a Grand Duke of Tuscany complained to a citizen of Venice that the Venetian government had sent as minister resident to his court a man of limited talent, low intelligence and offensive personality. "I am not surprised," said the Venetian finally. "We have many fools in Venice." "We also have fools in Tuscany," rejoined the Duke, "but we take care not to export them."

The German Foreign Office was on holiday today, and the members boated up and down the Rhine. Many of the government officials are away taking their annual cures. Liver ailments here do not seem to be as frequent as in France, but the spas catering to such troubles are almost always full. On the whole, the Germans strike me as eating more than the French but less richly. It reminds me of the story of Lord Houghton who said when dying, "My exit is the result of too many entrées."

Eddie Page came up from Munich for lunch, [redacted] He is still to go to Bulgaria as Minister, but satisfactory arrangements have not yet been made between our Government and the Bulgarians

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for the restoration of diplomatic relations. The present intention is to call him home at once to work on the disarmament committee headed by Charlie Coolidge. He would then go to Sofia around January 1. Terry and he have done a wonderful job in Munich.

E had a large tea for ladies this afternoon and is to have another tomorrow.

Friday, September 4, 1959

Minister Schroeder came to lunch with me today alone. He talked about domestic politics and his endeavors to reorganize the CDU Party leadership. The real purpose of his visit was to express a desire to go to America in October and meet some of the leading personalities in Washington. I told him I would take this up with Bob Murphy on a confidential basis.

Schroeder was one of the chief supporters of the Chancellor in his decision to remain in his present office. He is 49 years old, personable and [redacted] ambitious. His English is fluent.

I presented about 20 length-of-service awards to members of the Embassy in a little ceremony this afternoon.

Francois Seydoux came to see me this afternoon to read me the contents of a telegram he had received regarding the Adenauer-de Gaulle conversations in Paris. This account threw little new light on what had occurred. From it and the communique, one could

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not glean an impression of how far they [redacted] found themselves in accord on de Gaulle's plans to deal with the Algerian problem.

As a result of the dry weather, the forest around Schloss Ernich was the scene of a bad fire day before yesterday. It threatened the house itself, but industrious firefighters beat the flames away.

Harry Schwartz's mother died today after a long and painful illness.

Saturday, September 5, 1959

At the office. Mr. Braun, a friend of Senator Dirksen, came in to see me. He is engaged in a family-owned forge business in Wisconsin and has been in Duesseldorf to study the probable effect of the Common Market on his own operations. He has more or less reached the conclusion that, because of the much lower wage rates in Common Market countries, he will be unable to compete with them in the export field. Also, he feels threatened by their competition in the United States, and is meditating whether he will not cease manufacturing certain items and become a distributor of foreign imported articles of a similar character.

Sunday, September 6, 1959

Bill Stearman and I motored out in glorious weather this morning, to a little village about one hour from Bad Godesberg, for our

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first shoot of the season. The dry spring had augured well for a plentiful stock of partridges and pheasants, but only the former are yet fit for the bag.

Our generous hosts were two Germans, Messrs. Karl Biebighaeuser and Max Faust. Mr. Friedrich Hanke and Miss Biebighaeuser also accompanied us. She is a student at Munich, specializing in economics; pretty, companionable, and skilled in handling bird dogs.

The lessees of this rovier have, except during the war, enjoyed its usufruct for many years. In fact, Mr. Faust's father and grandfather had it before he took over. Under the German system, the proceeds of such leases are paid to the commune in whose jurisdiction the land lies. Strict requirements for the issuance of hunting licenses curtail the number of sportsmen, and small parcels of land are combined to offer a tempting holding, which is often thrown open to competitive bidding.

One of the Germans owns a small sausage factory; the other two were, I should judge, farmers - all have a passion for the chase.

We walked through beet and cabbage patches for two and a half hours in the morning, and a couple of hours in the afternoon. We saw quantities of pheasants and hares, but few partridges. Altogether, we shot 8 partridges, 1 rabbit, 1 woodpigeon, and 2 young pheasants, inadvertently mistaken for their cousins. Through a lucky

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fluke, I missed nothing; first I killed a single bird, then a double on a covey, and finally a high pigeon.

As evening came on, we sat in the garden of a gasthaus, and told wild tales over steinhager and beer. It was a [redacted] satisfactory day.

Monday, September 7, 1959

E and I left home at 7 this morning and took the Lufthansa from Duesseldorf to Paris. There the weather was perfect, and once more we had the unique little apartment 557 at the Crillon.

I lunched with Jean Monnet. He regarded the President's Paris visit as [redacted] an unqualified success. He is concerned over the outflow of gold from the United States, and considers we are carrying too heavy a financial burden. With the constantly growing prosperity in the U. K. and on the Continent, he is seeking for means to alleviate some of the weight imposed on the United States by the common necessities for security.

This is Labor Day at home. Consequently, it is an American holiday here. I met Dick Walters on the street; [redacted] he told me something of the Eisehower-de Gaulle conversations. He had been the President's interpreter. He esteemed them valuable, and described the atmosphere in which they [redacted] were conducted as ideally cordial.

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Tuesday, September 8, 1959

Visited around the Embassy this morning. Walked in the blazing sunshine and lunched on the left bank at Louise and Peter Stephaich's house, 11 rue Garancière.

In-spite of the Algerian problem, the whole tone of life in France has, by general account, markedly improved since de Gaulle came to power. Metternich once said that when France had a cold all Europe sneezed. This is no longer as true as it was in those days, but there is still a good deal of verity in it.

Louise and Peter have an apartment near the Luxembourg, in one of the most beautiful small 18th century houses I have ever seen, between court and garden. He, a Hungarian, is with Bache and Company. They are a fine couple. I walked back to the Embassy, stopping in Jansen's boutique on the way to buy them an overdue wedding present.

Before leaving Godesberg, I made an inventory of my stock of wines and liquors, excluding Moselles, Rhines and old champagne. It was as follows: (starts on page 165).

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Inventory of Wine Cellar

September 2, 1959

67 Rolandstrasse, Bad Godesberg.

	Number Bottles	
1918		
Chateau Latour	7	(to be kept by D.B.)
1921		
Pichon Longueville Lalande	20	(to be kept by D.B.)
	27	
1928		
Ch. Leoville Lascases	84	
Cos d'Estournel	35	
Ch. Smith Haut Lafite	4	(kept by D.B.)
Ch. Montrose	72	
Ch. Malartic Langraviere	83	
Ch. Haut Bailly	59	
	337	
Ch. Carbonnieux	7	(Magnums)
Ch. Pichon Longueville	1	(Magnum) (kept by D.B.)
1929		
Ch. Cheval Blanc	9	(kept by D.B.)
Romanée Conti	3	(kept by D.B.)
1935		
Richebourg (Domaine Romanée Conti)	4	(kept by D.B.)
LaTache " " "	1	
1937		
Bordeaux Ch. Lafite	28	
Burgundies (Chamberlin (Cuvee Heritiers Latour)	(38)	
" (From Louis Latour)	10	

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1945 Red Burgundies

Corton Geancey (Louis Latour)	54	
Clos Vougeot (Domaine Grivelet)	25	(Magnums)
Richebourg	30	(Magnums)
Musigny (Vieilles Vignes Georges de Vogue)	16	(Magnums)
Romanée St. Vivant (Joseph Drouhin)	21	
Chambertin (Drouhin)	12	
Grands Echezeaux	28	(Magnums)
Corton (Drouhin)	26	
Clos du Tart	17	(kept by D.B.)

113 bottles & 99 magnums

Beaujolais 8 (kept by D.B.)

1945 Red Bordeaux

Ch. Margaux	24	
Ch. Leoville Lascases	92	
Ch. Lafite	9	
Ch. Lafite	26	(Magnums)
Ch. Mission Haut Brion	24	
Ch. Haut Brion	52	
Ch. Latour	10	
Ch. Mouton Rothschild	49	

260 bottles & 26 magnums

1947 Red Bordeaux

Ch. Mouton Rothschild	19 cases	228	
Ch. Lafite	19 cases	228	
Ch. Latour	18 cases	216	
Ch. Cheval Blanc	20 cases	240	
Ch. Latour		6	(Magnums)

912 bottles & 6 magnums

(It may be some or all of the 18 cases of Latour are in magnums)

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1947 Red Burgundy

Corton Bressandes (Drouhin)	11
Clos Vougeot (Drouhin)	11
Chambertin Clos de Beze (Drouhin)	19
	41

Miscellaneous

Very old Armagnac (Boyer)	kept by D.B.	4 (Magnums)
Eau de Vie de Mouton Rothschild	" "	1 (Magnum)

Cognac

Frapin	kept by D.B.	24
XO Hennessy	" "	24
Monnet Anniversaire	" "	24
Miscellaneous from Danflou	" "	36

Champagne

Dom. Perignon 1949 (8 to be kept by D.B.) 56

(I paid $221.02 for 5 cases. Do not know amount of shipping charges)

J & B Scotch	15 cases	(kept by D.B.)	180
J & B Gin	27 cases	" "	324
USSR Vodka	3½ cases	kept by D.B.	42
Aequavit & Various			62

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Saw Am Houghton. He told me how well everything had developed between the President and de Gaulle. The latter expects to outline his proposals for Algeria about September 15. If they are promising, it is believed the President will back France in the United Nations. Am was his usual cheery, philosophical self - I do like Laura and him so much.

In the Embassy, I ran into Randy Burgess, Fritz Nolting and others, including beloved Flo Palmer and beguiling Marcelle Lecomte. Then, to my vast pleasure and surprise, Mary and Elim O'Shaughnessy appeared, she well along to producing another child, and Elim prattling of homely, domestic things. I hailed him across the street for an alcoholic corrective to Paris pavement pounding.

E and I dined tonight at Carton, Place de la Madeleine, still one of the worthiest restaurants in the world. My old friend, the proprietor, Monsieur Alex, took us to the cellar, where we looked over part of his 100,000 bottle collection, before nibbling a cracker and drinking 50 year old port. During the war, he sealed off much of his cellar, and also ran from it a clandestine radio connection with BCRA in London.

Wednesday, September 9, 1959

Spent much of the morning with Cecil Lyon at the Embassy. Elsie is at home with her father, who is naturally broken by

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Mrs. Grew's death. Joe is, however, going to move to Washington for the winter.

Lunched at The Travellers with Bunny Carter and Julian Allen. Julian is now President. How good it is to see old friends! Charlie Gray, Jean Hottinguer, Jean Dom, Gilbert Miller, Hugh Fullerton and others were there.

This afternoon, I went to a dealer's on Place Pigalle, to see whether any of Roger Comte's paintings were still there - he was Comte's agent ten years ago and their relationship had been thoroughly unsatisfactory. I found none.

Thursday, September 10, 1959

Stopped at the Embassy then went to see Marcel Boussac at his apartment on Maurice Barres. He has added little to his already beautiful scheme of decoration. I thought he wanted to talk to me about his twin passions, shooting and race-horses. Not at all. To my vast surprise, he had been in Moscow last week, invited by Khrushchev. Boussac's reportorial facility is professional, and I was entranced by his tortuous tale. I arranged to meet him again tomorrow morning.

Thence to lunch with Jean Lambert and his partners, at 10 Avenue Percier. I gave them a lengthy summary of German problems. With the aid of food and drink, they seemed to digest it

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without pain. I passed much of the rest of the afternoon with Randy Burgess and Clarence Hunter at the Talleyrand. The shank of the evening was devoted to my first partridge at the Maison Calvet with E and Marie Louise Bousquet. If there had been a tape recording of the latter's conversation, heads would fall and libel suits proliferate. It was a gay proceeding.

Friday, September 11, 1959

Went back to Boussac at 10 a.m. and talked for two hours. Then with E to look at old maps of Paris, with Madame Tallien well in mind. Lunched with the Philippe de Rothschilds, Philippine (now with the Comédie Francaise and admirable) and Nicky Nabokov the other guests. Nicky is often mistaken for his brother Wladimir, and anxious mothers, when they hear his name, think of Lolita and draw their daughters to a discreet distance.

Philippe, returned yesterday from Denmark, [redacted] opened eight bottles of Mouton Rothschild 1870 and 1916 and 1926 with only two successes. The hottest Paris summer in 40 years had taken its toll. Such a meal, prepared as only this couple does with supreme imagination. We had, amongst other dishes, ice-cold watermelon on the same plate as broiled chicken, marinated with cheese and ham.

At 4:15 I went to see Am Houghton to explain my encounters

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with Boussac and how, if at all, I should report them. He was typically understanding, and I shall send a telegram on the subject tomorrow from Bonn.

Left on the 1920 Lufthansa flight for Duesseldorf.

Have finished writing rough draft on introduction to De Myers' excellent essay on American education.

Saturday, September 12, 1959

Hot summer day. At the office I drew up a report on my conversation with Boussac and sent it to the Secretary. (See pages 172-180.)

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